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(U.S. Policy of Training Specialists for Developing Countries)

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«ТРОЯНСКИЙ КОНЬ» НЕОКОЛОНИАЛИЗМА

На английском языке

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INTRODUCTION

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and to strengthen national sovereignty is encountering the stubborn opposition of the imperialists. Forced to retreat under the onslaught of the national liberation movement the imperialists are, nevertheless, striving to keep their hold on the developing countries by establishing indirect domination over them. A favourite method with the neocolonialists is to enslave these countries economically by means of various "aid" programmes. Particular zeal is displayed by the United States of America which under cover of aid is interfering in the internal affairs of the developing states.

Aid as the United States sees it is candidly described by *The American Political Science Review*. "The problem of foreign aid," it states, "is insoluble if it is considered as a self-sufficient technical enterprise of a primarily economic nature. It is soluble only if it is considered an integral part of the political policies of the giving country which must be devised in view of the political conditions, and for its effects upon the political situation, in the receiving country. In this respect, a policy of foreign aid is no different from diplomatic or military policy or propaganda. They are all weapons in the political armoury of the nation."*

By rendering aid the U.S.A. pursues three principal objectives: furtherance of its military and strategic interests, realisation of its political plans, and promotion of diverse economic undertakings.

The military and strategic measures envisage the construction of military bases on foreign territories, the inveiglement of the newly free countries into aggressive military blocs,

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* *The American Political Science Review*, June 1962, p. 309.

the subjugation of their national armed forces to the U.S. command, and so forth. In pursuance of its political plans, the United States supports the internal reactionary forces, struggles against the national liberation movement and disseminates anti-communist propaganda. Its activities in the economic field are aimed at strengthening the positions of capitalism, conserving the remnants of colonialism, preserving the colonial structure of economy and creating conditions for U.S. monopolies to broaden the scope of their activity.

In countries where the imperialists are able to carry out their plans if only in part, the national liberation revolutions suffer heavy losses. There is grave danger for the less developed countries even in those U.S. subsidies which on the surface of it appear harmless enough. The fact is that the imperialists do not grudge certain expenditures in order to pave the way for themselves and to create the most favourable conditions for the realisation of their plans. The stronger the meshes of American aid, the more difficult it is for a young state to pursue an independent policy and the greater the threat to its sovereignty.

For some years now the imperialist powers, especially the U.S.A., alongside other forms of aid have been rendering large-scale "assistance" in the training of students from the developing countries. The heightened interest of the American ruling circles in this respect is borne out by the fact that in 1960 they established the post of special assistant to the State Secretary for co-ordination in the field of international education and cultural relations.

The aims of this form of aid have been disclosed by *Higher Education,* a magazine published in the United States, which reported the following: "There are many indications that we are beginning to use education as a principal instrument for the achievement of our international objectives."* The Committee on Educational Interchange Policy expressed a similar view. "Academic exchanges," it said, "are increasingly being sponsored by organisations whose primary function is not education, but believe exchange is an effective means of fulfilling their purposes."**

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* *Higher Education*, Washington, April 1960, p. 13.

** *College and University Programmes of Academic Exchange*, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, New York, March 1960, p. 6.

Thus, aid in training specialists has become a weapon in the armoury of U.S. foreign political organisations. There are four principal goals which it pursues:

to create an influential stratum of local intelligentsia with an American way of thinking in the young Asian, African and Latin American states;

to make broader and more effective use of local educational institutions to indoctrinate the population and to disseminate anti-communist ideas;

to use this aid for various political and diplomatic machinations in the receiving countries;

and, finally, to promote subversive activities in the developing states and to combat the national liberation movement.

The U.S.A. is attaching especial importance to the training of the local intelligentsia, particularly in the newly free countries where this social group is only just being formed. In the U.S.A. and in countries where the teachers are Americans, the Asian, African and Latin American students are subjected to systematic and planned ideological indoctrination. Falsified facts and outright lies about life in the socialist countries are freely used to convince students of the advantages of private enterprise and the superiority of the American political and economic system over the socialist.

Very often, local U.S.-sponsored educational institutions are turned into propaganda centres. Seminars, lectures, talks, films, and literature are just a few of the propaganda media employed by the colonialists.

Politicians and diplomats often use stipends to bribe government officials and other persons whose services they may need. U.S. diplomatic missions have turned scholarships into a means of increasing their influence on political parties, economic, young people's, religious and other organisations.

The Pentagon and intelligence services are sending large numbers of advisers, instructors, teachers and other personnel to the economically less developed countries. Many of them, as a rule, settle in strategically important districts. There, under cover of schools, surgeries and similar establishments they set up centres of espionage and subversion.

A special role here is played by U.S. Peace Corps groups; these are actually paramilitary units which have their own transport and communication facilities in a number of

countries, and which are in constant readiness to act on orders from the U.S. military command.

The statesmen and the broad public of many African, Asian and Latin American countries are beginning to realise that U.S. aid by no means caters for the interests of the young states. That is why they are looking more and more hopefully to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their true friends who will always lend a helping hand in case of need.

Undaunted by the opposition of the imperialists, the newly free states are continuing to fight for their complete liberation. The consolidation of the might of the world socialist system creates real possibilities for abolishing all forms of colonial dependence.

The national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is directed against all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism and will undoubtedly end in victory for it is waged in the name of peace, liberty and progress.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Today there is not a single spot on the globe where colonialists can feel secure. Everywhere people are struggling against imperialism for a new life and new relations. The peoples of Angola, Mosambique, the Republic of South Africa, Sarawak, Brunei and Fiji are heroically resisting colonial domination; Algeria has achieved independence, West Irian has been reunited with Indonesia, and is building a new life; and in South Korea, South Vietnam, on Okinawa and elsewhere, the struggle against U.S. occupation forces does not abate for a single moment.

Colonialism has been dealt a mortal blow, but it has not been completely routed as yet. The imperialists have spread their clutching tentacles across the continents of Asia, Africa and America. More than 35 million people in 72 countries and territories are still living in direct colonial dependence. The British Empire has 34 colonies with a total population of more than 15 million; fascist Portugal possesses seven colonies (13,500,000 inhabitants); the U.S.A. has six colonial dependencies (3,000,000 inhabitants); France has eight territories with a population of 1,300,000. The Netherlands, Spain, Australia, New Zealand and the Republic of South Africa

have their colonies as well. There are 21 in Africa, 27 in Australia and Oceania, 14 in America, 8 in Asia, and there is even a colonial territory in Europe–Gibraltar.

The struggle against colonialism and imperialism is waged not only by the colonial peoples but also by the peoples of the newly free states. In countries where puppet governments have come to power, the situation has practically remained unchanged. The ruling circles deceitfully adhere to their old pro-imperialist positions and help their bosses, foreign monopolies, to plunder the national wealth. The goal of the national liberation movement in these countries is to depose the unpopular regimes, to put an end to the colonialists' political and economic domination and to establish complete independence.

In countries where the positions of the colonialists have been irreparably undermined, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle is more acute. Its principal objective is freedom from economic exploitation by the imperialist powers and the abolition of feudalism–imperialism's staunch ally.

Colonial rule has cost the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America very dearly indeed. Plunder, monstrous exploitation and even physical extermination have doomed some peoples to gradual extinction. As a result of such "civilising" activities the population of the Congo has decreased by almost one half, and that of Uganda and Tanganyika by one-third; millions of able-bodied people have been massacred in Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya and other countries before they won independence; whole ethnic groups on some islands of Oceania and in Australia have disappeared altogether.

The dire consequences of colonial domination are still affecting the development of the young states. The system of landownership and land tenure established by the colonialists is seriously impeding the solution of the land question. The peasants, the principal productive force, are in the majority landless leaseholders to this day. The best plots still belong to the big landowners. As a result of stagnation in agriculture, inadequate techniques and absence of qualified specialists, arable lands in a number of countries are losing fertility. In West Pakistan, for example, over 100,000 acres of irrigated land are abandoned annually because of soil erosion. John Bell of the U.S. Administration for International Co-operation in Pakistan, gave warning as long ago

as 1957 of the disastrous consequences this might lead to. He stressed that if the abandonment of land continued at the same rate, the Indus Valley would become a desert within 50 years.*

As for industrial development, the colonialists did not worry about it at all. The enterprises built by the British in India, Burma, Malaya, Ghana and in some other countries were in the main small factories and plants for the primary processing of raw materials. The industry inherited by Mali from the French colonialists consisted of only two oil mills, two tanneries and seven cotton gins. In the Congo the only more or less developed industry was mining, the source of enrichment for Belgian and other colonialists.

The developing states are confronted with the extremely important problem of making the foreign monopolies relinquish their hold on the wealth they had seized from them. It will not be an easy matter for the peoples of Tanganyika, Algeria, the Congo and many other countries to recover possession of the copper and uranium mines, oil deposits and other industrial enterprises, which are theirs by right but are still exploited by foreign companies.

In the field of health protection as well, the developing countries are faced with the task of liquidating the grim consequences of colonial domination. According to U.N. statistics, the former colonies have on an average 20 times less medical personnel than the home countries. In some countries the figure is even more. In the Congo, for instance, there are 25 times less medical workers than in Belgium; and in Indonesia—90 times less than in Holland. In India in 1956 there was one doctor per 8,000 of the population and one midwife per 25,000. In 1958 there was only one doctor per 10,000 of the population in Libya, one per 23,000 in Ghana, one per 28,000 in Togoland, one per 50,000 in Burma, and one per 80,000 in Indonesia. In Cambodia, whose population in 1952 was almost 5,000,000 there were only 43 doctors and 38 midwives.**

Child mortality in all these countries is catastrophically high. In the Congo 50 per cent of all new-born children die,

* *Agricultural Crisis in Pakistan*, United States Information Service, Karachi-Dacca-Lahore, 1957, p. 3.
** *Statistical Yearbook 1958*, pp. 541-43.

in Cameroon—60 per cent, and in Angola, 80 per cent of the children die from various diseases and undernourishment.

While reaping fabulous profits from their former and present colonies at the expense of the population, the imperialist powers have done hardly anything, nor do they intend to do anything now, to improve the medical services in these countries. Take Angola, for example. In 1960 alone they shipped out 1,570,000 carats of diamonds, great quantities of copper, manganese, iron ore, oil and other minerals. And yet all the country has by way of health protection is one hospital per 280,000 of the population, one doctor for every 26,000 inhabitants and one nurse and 30 hospital beds per 10,000 people. Small wonder that 75 per cent of the Angolans are afflicted with tuberculosis and the country is ravaged by typhus, malaria, sleeping sickness, trachoma and leprosy.

Colonial rule has also had a baneful effect on school education and professional training. In the colonies and dependencies the entire system of education was geared to the needs of the colonial powers. The principal subjects taught were humanities. None but the children of the rich were admitted to the schools, while the colleges and universities trained only a very small number of students—the offspring of the local nobility—who, after graduating, were drawn into service in the colonial administration and foreign commercial firms, and formed the local intelligentsia. Consequently, when India achieved independence more than 90 per cent of her population was found to be illiterate; the corresponding figures for Indonesia and Cameroon were 94 and 97 per cent respectively. In Angola today, illiteracy is as high as 99 per cent. In Nigeria in 1952, out of 8,000,000 children of school age only 10,000 went to secondary schools.* The high school fees and the frightfully low wages put education out of reach for the children of ordinary people. In Nigeria, for instance, a year's tuition at a primary school costs £25, or as much as a miner getting three or four shillings a week would earn in two years.**

Colonial rule kept the living standards of the population at their lowest. An investigation carried out by Malcolm

* Amanake Okafor, *Nigeria. Why We Fight for Freedom*, London, 1949, pp. 5-7.
** ibid.

Darling in Pakistan in 1953-54 showed that living conditions there were extremely difficult. He wrote that the average wage of an agricultural worker was 35 rupees a month or 420 rupees a year,* which was roughly five times less than the minimum living wage. For a 12-14 hour working day the Dutch colonialists in Indonesia paid the plantation workers such miserable wages that they could barely keep body and soul together. The conditions of plantation workers in Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa and in several other African countries differ little from those of slaves.

Describing the plight of these unfortunate sons and daughters of Africa, Ndeh Ntumazah, President of the One Kamerun Party, wrote: "Some thousands of the children still unborn in Africa are doomed to die before they leave their mothers' wombs; some thousands of those fortunate enough to reach the age of 35 can never hope to pick up a paper and read of man's adventures into space or read books on the glories of man's cultural heritage; some thousands will die before they can till the soil, some thousands sacrificed their lives in World War II in order to defend that which they had not experienced: freedom and independence."**

The low standards of living, ruthless exploitation and diseases greatly reduce the life span of the population in colonial countries. In most African, Asian and Latin American countries life expectancy does not exceed 30 years.

The imperialists are making enormous profits by exploiting the colonial peoples. For instance, in 1950 two American firms in Northern Rhodesia, the Roan Antelope and the Mufulira, each made a profit of over £ 8,000,000, while in 1952 the Anglo-American Rhokana Corporation netted £ 12,116,000. The dividends it paid were fantastically high—225 per cent.***

At the Addis Ababa Summit Conference of Independent African and Malagasy States in May 1963, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana said that in the 10 years (1947-56) the

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* Malcolm Darling, *Report on Labour Conditions in Agriculture in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1954, p. 11.

** Ndeh Ntumazah, *8 Steps to Peace in Kamerun*, One Kamerun Party, Kumba, Southern Cameroon, 1961, p. 5.

*** Jack Woddis, *Africa. The Lion Awakes*, London, 1961, p. 13.

colonialists had shipped out of the Congo thousands of millions of dollars worth of copper, rubber, cotton and other commodities. From 1947-51, foreign monopolies operating gold mines in South Africa had accrued profits to the sum of tens of billions of dollars.

The wounds inflicted by the imperialists on their former colonies are deep indeed. But the peoples of the countries that have taken the road of independent development are determined to heal these wounds and to successfully accomplish economic, political and cultural construction.

Ghana, Guinea, Mali and several other newly free countries have taken control over the export of mineral and other raw materials. The governments of many African countries are giving serious thought to instituting adequate measures to prevent the flow of their national wealth overseas. Progressive public opinion in a number of developing states is demanding with growing insistence that certain branches of economy should be nationalised and the activity of foreign capital be sharply restricted.

The newly free countries are taking vigorous steps to develop agriculture, industry and trade, and to stabilise their financial position. Many of them have worked out and launched long-term plans for economic development.

A serious difficulty with which the emergent countries are confronted is the acute shortage of national specialists. In many of these countries key posts in economy and in scientific and cultural institutions are still held by foreign experts. Naturally, they are disinclined to render genuine aid, and in some cases their activities are directed against the interests of the developing states. The subversion by the British experts who worked on the Suez Canal, the undisguised sabotage of Dutch employees in Indonesia, and of Belgian specialists in the Congo, are well-known facts.

Katharine Savage, a Western journalist, gave the following appraisal of the situation in the Congo in 1961 after the sabotage of Belgian employees: "After a month of independence normal life was almost at a standstill in the Congo. Many foreign doctors had left the country and there was not a single Congolese doctor to replace them because none had been trained. . . .

"Schools had no teachers and factories no staff; shops ran

out of stock and petrol pumps were empty; post offices no longer distributed mail."*

Still, the acute shortage of local personnel—engineers and technicians especially—forces the young states of Africa, Asia and Latin America to invite overseas experts. In countries where industrial development is relatively rapid, the number of foreign specialists is fairly large. It costs a great deal to maintain a large army of foreign experts, who, as a rule, receive a much higher salary than local experts.

The developing states realise only too well that it is imperative for them to prepare their own specialists in all fields as soon as possible in order to be able to build up their economic independence.

The struggle against imperialism in this important sector is already yielding tangible results. Much has been accomplished in the training of local technical personnel in India, Indonesia, Burma, the U.A.R., Ghana, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and elsewhere.

Since its independence, India has built a number of higher educational institutions, including the well-known Institute of Technology in Kharagpur, the Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay, and the Institute of Science in Bangalore which train specialists for industry and agriculture. In Indonesia, the last few years have seen the opening of several industrial academies training engineers and technicians and also the now world-famous Universitas Gadjah Mada. Ghana's first university was opened in 1961.

The fight against the colonialists is not yet over. The retreating imperialists are clutching at every straw to keep a hold on their positions. Today the training of personnel has become one of the most important links in the chain of neocolonialist methods employed by U.S. imperialists to influence the economic and political development of the newly free countries.

WOLVES IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

The imperialist powers work along three main lines: they leave a part of the colonial personnel (particularly those engaged in the training of specialists) at their posts;

* Katharine Savage, *The Story of Africa South of the Sahara*, London, 1961, p. 142.

they invite local young men and women to study in their countries; or they have foreign instructors come out to teach them.

The neocolonialist activity of foreign employees in the former colonies was unmasked in the appeal of the One Kamerun Party: "No useful purpose would be served," it stated, "if these experts are not selected by the Kamerunian people themselves; experts left or deposited in the Kamerun by the imperialists will serve nobody other than their former masters, the imperialists."*

The former colonial officials still holding key state, economic and military positions are directing the activity of the corresponding bodies and organisations in the interests of the imperialists and, what is particularly important, are selecting and instructing the people who will replace them in due course. And they are doing their utmost to prepare replacements who will suit their former masters in every respect.

British colonialists conclude agreements with the developing states under which the latter take British employees into their service. Such agreements have been signed with India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Sierra-Leone, Nigeria and Ghana, and a number of other newly free countries. Accordingly the British were employed in the government, the army, the police, communications, educational and financial institutions and in key industrial enterprises.

In some of these countries, long after they had proclaimed independence, foreigners remained at the head of the most important services, branches and departments, and in every possible way prevented the appointment of local specialists to responsible posts. For instance, British officials and experts still hold the highest military and civil posts in many countries, including Malaya, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone and Jordan. An analogous situation obtains in the former French and British colonies.

Since the developing countries regard the employment of foreign experts and specialists as a temporary measure and are striving to replace them with local people, it is not surprising that the imperialist powers are keeping such a

* Ndeh Ntumazah, *8 Steps to Peace in Kamerun*, One Kamerun Party, p. 7.

close watch on the manner in which the education of local specialists is organised.

In the post-war years the U.S.A. has set up a smoothly working machine for rendering so-called aid to the less developed countries in the training of local personnel. In the early stages, the natural flow of people wanting to study in the U.S. was augmented by students selected by private organisations such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. Later, other government and private organisations, among them the Fulbright Foundation, the Joseph Kennedy Foundation, the African-American Institute, and the Institute of International Education, became very active in this field. The Federal Government considerably increased allocations for this purpose.

The U.S. International Co-operation Administration, which organised aid to foreign countries, published a series of programmes for training personnel for Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time corresponding organisations established a close global network of agencies to investigate the situation on the spot and to recommend for study in the United States those persons who merited their attention.

The principal co-ordinating organisation in the U.S.A. is the Institute of International Education. Founded in 1919, it became genuinely influential only after the Second World War. Linking the Institute to the government is the Permanent Committee for General and Professional Education composed of representatives from the International Co-operation Administration and the Institute itself. The Committee has overseas branches working in close contact with American diplomatic missions.

In 1954 the Institute of International Education set up a special Committee on Educational Interchange Policy to organise international exchange of students from colleges and vocational schools. A look at the composition of the Institute's administration gives an excellent idea in whose interests it is working. The board membership includes representatives from the biggest U.S. monopolies: for example Eugene R. Black, former President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Harold Francis Linder, President of the Export-Import Bank, Joseph F. Lord, a Morgan representative, James Mount Nicely, a Ford representative, Robert Stuart McCollum, a Rockefeller representative, General Otto Nelson, Edward R. Murrow, former Director of the United States Information Service (USIS), and Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

According to official data, the activities of the Institute embrace 86 countries. Each year it helps to enrol about 6,000 students at various educational institutions, and finds jobs for teachers, doctors and technicians taking advanced or improvement courses abroad. In addition it carries out separate study programmes. For example, in 1961 it was rendering assistance to African students studying in the U.S.A.

Among the organisations concerned with training personnel from the economically less developed countries, a special place is occupied by the so-called philanthropic organisations of the big monopolies, in particular, the Ford Foundation.

The Ford Foundation, one of the largest private organisations financing various study programmes and subsidising a number of educational institutions in the U.S.A. and abroad, is controlled and heavily backed by many of the country's biggest monopolies which have representatives on its board.

In the post-war period and especially in recent years, the Ford Foundation stepped up its overseas activity, particularly in the developing countries. It opened branches in more than 40 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, including India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran, the Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, the United Arab Republic, Nigeria, Ghana, Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

In 1961, for instance, it was rendering financial and other assistance to 47 educational institutions in India, among them the Aligarh, Baroda, Patna, Bombay, Calcutta, Punjab and Utkal universities, the Indian Institute of Technology and the Indian Institute of Statistics.* Moreover, the Foundation had helped nine Indian ministries to carry out a series of training programmes: seminars to organise the youth movement in the countryside, courses for village teachers, for administrative personnel in community projects, for medium-level medical personnel, etc. The American imperialists are striving to use all these avenues to implement their policy.

In 1961 private American philanthropic organisations enrolled about 16,000 students from the economically less

* *The Ford Foundation Annual Report*, New York, 1961, pp. 148-50.

developed countries at colleges and universities in the U.S.A. That same year there were about 1,000 American professors and teachers working in educational institutions in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

U.S. monopolies have made the training of personnel an instrument for expansion, and are using it to the maximum to promote their imperialist schemes. This is borne out by the following facts: first, the training pattern has retained its former colonial features; second, there is complete disregard for the requirements of the developing countries whose principal need is for specialists in economic construction; and third, the U.S. is striving to use the training of specialists as a medium for strengthening its ideological influence in the developing states.

As is known, a typical feature of education in the colonies was the emphasis made on general education and the humanities. The imperialists needed educated people to work in the colonial administration, commercial firms, banks and other organisations. At the same time they impeded in every way the training of personnel for industry, agriculture and other key economic branches. In this way they kept the colonies in constant dependence on the home countries and built the foundations for their future exploitation.

The following table shows the trend in the training of specialists in India in 1926-27.*

Areas of learning	Specialists	Per cent
Total	89,790	100
including:		
mixed humanities and natural sciences	71,968	80
specialised humanities	10,831	12
medical	3,854	4
engineering	2,009	2.5
agricultural	1,128	1.5

This is a typical example of the colonial policy in training national personnel. Has anything changed since then? The

* Based on data in *Statistical Abstract for British India*, London, 1942, p. 125.

table below* illustrates the trend in the training of specialists from the less developed countries in the U.S.A.

	Total number of students	Of them specialists in:					
		agriculture	engineering	medicine	physical and mathematical, and natural sciences	humanities	other subjects
Total	39,541	1,507	10,009	2,853	6,415	17,574	1,183
Per cent of total	100	3.8	25.3	7.2	16.2	44.5	3.0
including: students from:							
South-East Asia and the Far East	19,222	508	4,307	1,360	3,904	8,694	449
Middle East and North Africa	8,981	407	3,212	549	1,292	3,385	136
Africa (south of the Sahara)	1,712	70	174	158	305	826	179
Latin America	9,626	522	2,316	786	914	4.669	419

A comparison with the preceding table will show that in both cases the accent is on the humanities, and the training of agricultural specialists is at the bottom of the list; there has been a slight increase in the number of trained medical personnel, and only the number of engineers has grown to any considerable extent. Speaking about the training of engineers it must be borne in mind that the comparative growth in their number does not signify a new approach to the training of students; it simply stems from the general technical progress made in the past 35 years.

Consequently, U.S. policy on the training of specialists for the developing countries does not, in principle, differ from the policy pursued by the colonialists with regard to India prior to her independence.

* Based on data in *Open Doors 1961*, Report on International Exchange, Institute of International Education, New York, May 1961, pp. 26-29.

American imperialists care little for the needs of the countries which are striving to develop their national industry.

For example, Indonesia, Ceylon and Ghana have, since their liberation, been concentrating their efforts on achieving the speediest growth in economy and culture. Currently Indonesia is carrying through a grandiose eight-year plan. Ghana's five-year plan provides for the construction of approximately 600 industrial enterprises, including large plants, factories and power stations. In the next three or four years Ceylon is planning to build a number of large industrial projects, among them a metallurgical plant, an oil refinery, a tyre factory and a mineral fertiliser plant. Large-scale reconstruction of agriculture is also envisaged. In order to carry out these plans all financial and man-power resources have to be mobilised. The developing countries will have to rely on foreign aid to some extent. Their most acute problem is that of assistance in the training of students.

The table* below illustrates how American aid in this field "conforms" to the economic plans of these countries:

Countries	Total number of trainees in the U.S.A.	Of them specialists in:		Per cent of total
		industry, transport, communications	agriculture	
Indonesia . . .	526	71	10	15.4
Ghana	160	24	13	23.1
Ceylon	79	7	10	21.5

Thus, the U.S.A. is contributing very little to the training of specialists for the key branches of industry in these countries. This is also true of the other newly free states. What is most important, perhaps, is not the number of students but the approach to the problem itself. The preparation of specialists for the key branches of economy in developing states occupies one of the last places in the plans of the imperialists, which in itself is an indication that the U.S.A. is endeavouring to impede the economic growth of these

* Based on data in *Open Doors 1961*, pp. 26-29.

countries and to keep them within the orbit of its exploitation.

The above pattern of relations between the imperialist powers and the economically less developed countries, which stem from the contradictions between the plans of the imperialists and the aspirations of the emergent peoples, prove that the imperialist powers are not interested in rendering aid with no strings attached.

Ideological expansion occupies an extremely important place in the training of specialists for the less developed countries. It is carried out primarily through the students of these countries who are studying in the U.S.A. The table on page 19 shows that 45 per cent of them are being trained for work in the ideological field.

This trend is best seen in the way the U.S.A. organises the training of personnel on the spot. According to data published by the Institute of International Education, there were 904 American teachers in the less developed countries in 1961 of whom 599 or 66.5 per cent were instructors in humanities, 49, or approximately five per cent, were engaged in the training of engineers, and 82, or a little over eight per cent, were agricultural specialists.*

The number of U.S. professors and instructors in various fields of learning who are working in different parts of the world is as follows**:

	Total number of specialists	Of them specialists in:				
		agriculture	engineering	medicine	physical and mathematical, and natural sciences	humanities
Working in:						
South-East Asia and the Far East	358	30	24	21	51	232
Middle East	200	27	7	9	29	128
Africa	116	7	5	7	15	82
Latin America	230	18	13	5	37	157

* Based on data in *Open Doors 1961*, pp. 26-29.
** ibid.

The way American teachers are distributed in the different countries is even more striking. In 1961 there were 89 American teachers in India, of whom 62 specialised in humanities, 15 in agriculture, and only four in engineering; in Pakistan out of 81 instructors, 50 taught humanities, 14—agriculture and two were engineering specialists; out of 29 American teachers in Nigeria 22 taught humanities, four—agriculture and one—engineering; in Brazil out of 54 teachers, 37 taught humanities, five were experts in agriculture and four in engineering.*

In some higher and secondary specialised educational institutions of the newly free countries, local teachers hold the chairs of the specialised disciplines, whereas the departments of the humanities and ideology are staffed by a large number of American instructors. Evidently in the opinion of U.S. ruling circles, the developing countries have no need for scientific and technical assistance, but only in American ideological patronage.

U.S. financial "aid" also has a definite ideological trend. As a rule it is afforded only to pro-American educational institutions. Some of them, for instance the University of Equador, follow the disgraceful practice of granting subsidies to separate faculties and chairs headed by pro-American instructors, and, conversely, financial aid is denied to the departments that pursue a national patriotic course. Tactics such as these lead to a split in the ranks of the national intelligentsia and the students, disrupt the normal course of studies and, in general, greatly impede the preparation of national specialists.

As an additional measure to enhance its influence in the educational institutions in Asian, African and Latin American countries, the U.S.A. sends young Americans to these countries to study, obliging them at the same time to disseminate propaganda among local students. The overwhelming majority of the nearly 3,000 American students who were studying in these countries in 1961, took courses in the language, history and other subjects dealing with the country concerned. After graduation U.S. specialists usually remain in the countries where they have studied to work in government institutions and American private firms and

* *Open Doors 1961*, pp. 26-29.

continue to ideologically influence the local educational institutions.

Furthermore, U.S. ruling circles want to turn this aid into a vehicle for promoting their foreign policy plans. For example, they are already regarding it as one of their principal tasks to train national leaders from among the more promising young men and women who will subsequently become instruments in the hands of U.S. monopolies. In this connection one official U.S. Government document says: "U.S. institutions can aid their sister institutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They can contribute to the education and training of leaders who will determine the future of these countries. They can help new nations in the establishment of Social and Political Institutions."*

This in effect means the systematic training of top-echelon government and public leaders and the creation of pro-American puppet governments in Asian, African and Latin American countries. Such is the true character of U.S. assistance in the education and training of specialists for the emergent states.

"WELCOME TO THE U.S.A."

The U.S.A. assigns an important role to its educational institutions in the training of students from the economically less developed countries. According to official data foreigners are enrolled in more than 2,500 colleges and universities. There are more than 1,000 foreign students in each of the six biggest universities in the United States.** Some of them come from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The wealthy bourgeoisie and landowners have been sending their children to study in the best U.S. colleges and universities since the beginning of this century. Soon the education of foreigners became a commercial undertaking bringing no small profit to those enterprising people who made it their business to cater for it. Foreign students, paying enormous sums of money for tuition, board and lodging, continue to be a source of enrichment for all kinds

* *College and University Programmes of Academic Exchange*, pp. 4-5.
** *Open Doors 1961*, p. 11.

of businessmen to this day. In 1961, for instance, of the 53,107 foreigners studying in the U.S.A., more than half lived entirely at their own expense.*

That same year the Institute of International Education made a survey and established that there were 39,541 students from Asia, Africa and Latin America attending higher, secondary and specialised educational institutions and various study courses. The overwhelming majority of them were enrolled at second- and third-rate colleges and universities.

According to the survey, out of 30,315 persons, 46 per cent were studying at their own expense or at the expense of their governments, 43 per cent were receiving subsidies from private American or foreign firms, and 11 per cent were financially assisted by the U.S. Government.

The majority of students are receiving assistance in the form of grants from big monopolist associations. Out of 9,826 students from countries in South-East Asia and the Far East who were given partial or full financial assistance, 7,447 were receiving grants from the monopolies. The ratio between the financial aid given by government agencies and the grants paid by private organisations to students from the Near East was 1:5, Latin America—1:6, and Africa—1:2.

An examination of the sources that finance foreign students in the U.S.A. justifies the following conclusions: first, about 50 per cent of the young men and women from the economically less developed countries are in no way connected with U.S. aid; second, the share of the U.S. Government in financing the preparation of specialists for these countries is extremely small, and, third, the bulk of U.S. "aid" comes from private organisations.

In extending invitations to foreign students, the U.S.A. gives priority to countries that come within the orbit of American capital. The big American oil companies, for instance, are offering scholarships to students from Venezuela where large-scale activity has been launched by the Creole Foundation** owned by the U.S. Creole Petroleum Corporation, a sister company of the Standard Oil of New Jersey.

* *Open Doors 1961*, pp. 23-25.

** *Overseas*, Magazine of Educational Exchange, New York, May 1962, p. 14.

The Foundation has taken control over many educational institutions in the country and has monopolised the selection of students for training in the U.S.A. On returning home, the young specialists will work for the American oil companies.

Students eligible for study in the U.S.A. are selected with the utmost care. Every one of them is interviewed by representatives of U.S. firms and members of the Embassy staff. Scholarships are awarded to students, who, in addition to the required preliminary training, know English, possess the necessary recommendations and can afford the required deposit as security. Consequently, the way to education in the U.S.A. is closed to young men and women from poor families and to those who exhibit progressive tendencies.

But when the "lucky ones" finally get enrolled, they find a number of serious shortcomings in the way their training is organised. The extremely brief term of education, the absence of any industrial practice, the complete isolation of studies from the demands of life, and serious material difficulties for most of the students, are the most immediate drawbacks.

The average period of training for students from Asia, Africa and Latin America is limited to two years. But for many of them the study course lasts for only several months or even a few weeks. In recent years the granting of scholarships for short-term training has become a popular practice in the U.S.A. In 1958, they made up the bulk of the 5,500 scholarships awarded to foreign students by the International Co-operation Administration, and 25 per cent of the 5,000 scholarships granted by the State Department.*

Obviously it is impossible to train a qualified doctor or engineer in such a brief period. Therefore, priority is given to the training of medium-level personnel. At the same time the reduction in the term of education allows the number of foreign students to be considerably increased—a fact which is broadly advertised by U.S. propaganda. The standard of education afforded to foreigners studying in the U.S.A. is seriously impaired by the absence of practical training. Though this question was raised time and again in the U.S.

* *College and University Programmes of Academic Exchange*, p. 26.

press which appealed to private firms to give the foreign specialists an opportunity to practise at their enterprises, it has not been solved as yet.

More often than not, U.S. educational institutions give no thought to foreign students' working conditions in their home countries. Here the picture strongly resembles the situation in the colonial schools in Africa about which *Youth and Freedom* wrote ironically: "In the first place, the concentration has been upon European rather than African content–biology books which deal with European plants that African children have never seen, history books which talk about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and deny that Africa has a history, geography texts which list all the tributaries of the Thames and overlook the Volta and the Niger."*

The Committee on Educational Interchange Policy stated that: "Many return home, however, to find that the knowledge they acquired in the U.S.A. has little to do with immediate problems with which they must deal. In the technical fields and the professions especially, the contrast between what they learn in America and what they can use immediately at home may be great."**

And so, upon completing their training in the U.S.A., many young specialists are unable to apply their knowledge at home or to be of any help in solving the vital problems of their national economic development.

But the most serious problem confronting students from the developing countries is that of material security. We have already mentioned that 54 per cent of them receive grants from private American firms, or state organisations. But only a very small percentage of the students are fully provided for. As a general rule, the awards cover only part of their expenses: either tuition fees or living expenses, and rarely the cost of travel to and from the U.S.A.

In 1958 the Institute of International Education published a prospectus for foreign students, which said in part: "There is a very limited number of private awards that include travel to and from the United States, tuition and living

* *Youth and Freedom*, Institute for International Youth Affairs, New York, Vol. V, No. 1-2, p. 3.

** *College and University Programmes of Academic Exchange*, p. 8.

expenses; some that include tuition and living expenses; some that include tuition and board and room; and others, which are the most common and least difficult to obtain, covering tuition alone."*

It follows that the majority of citizens of Asian, African and Latin American countries who have been granted awards by private U.S. firms (43 per cent of the total number) are afforded free tuition only. The students themselves have to pay for their board and lodging. But since many of them do not receive an allowance from home, they have to find jobs and combine their studies with hard, and at times, fatiguing work. But even the above prospectus stresses that jobs are not easy to find and the student, therefore, has to weigh the pros and cons carefully before coming to study in the United States.

The following is quoted from *Overseas*: "Summer affords special opportunities for the foreign student–if the work opportunities are really there. Without them it can be a nightmare."**

The awards granted by U.S. government agencies are slightly bigger, but not big enough to meet the student's expenses. Studying in the U.S.A. is an expensive business. The Institute of International Education has calculated that during the 9-month academic year a student, modest though his requirements may be, spends $2,500, including annual tuition fees–$900 and room and board–$1,600.***

Moreover, students from African countries have to share the bitter fate of the American Negroes. Racial discrimination precludes their enrolment at some of the educational institutions. A survey conducted by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1949 showed that already at that time most of the African students were being trained in colleges for Negroes, more than half of which were situated in the Southern States:****

* *Graduate Study in the United States*, Institute of International Education, New York, 1958, p. 5.

** *Overseas*, February 1962, p. 5.

*** *Graduate Study in the United States*, p. 5; *The Liberal Arts College in the United States*, Institute of International Education, New York, 1958, p. 9; *Engineering Education in the United States*, Institute of International Education, New York, 1962, pp. 8-9.

**** Phelps-Stokes Fund, *A Survey of African Students Studying in the United States*, October 1949, pp. 52-76.

The established order in these educational institutions has made them into a sort of reservations. And it is much harder for the African students to find jobs to work their way through college.

"Probably every African visiting the United States encounters discrimination in one form or another," admits the Committee on Education Interchange Policy. "In the South he encounters outright segregation. In the North discrimination shows itself in segregated housing and occasional refusal of service in restaurants, barber shops or other public places."*

The result is that African young men and women prefer to study in Europe. In 1960, for example, there were far more Africans studying in the European countries than in the U.S.A.

The straitened circumstances of students from the developing countries and the frequent incidents arising because of this attracted the attention of the U.S. Government. But instead of allocating additional funds to improve the living conditions of foreign students, attempts were made to remedy the situation at the expense of the public. During the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, a special organisation was founded to implement the People-to-People Programme. The purpose of this programme, which embraced all major U.S. colleges and universities where students from Asia, Africa and Latin America were enrolled, was to financially aid these young people and to indoctrinate them politically.

The sponsoring organisation of the People-to-People Programme opened its first branch at the University of Kansas and after that branches were set up at a number of other educational institutions, including some of the country's biggest universities. The Programme has six committees: "brother-sister relationships committee", "hospitality committee", "forum committee", "publicity committee", "job placement committee", and "student ambassadors committee". These committees acquaint foreign students with the American way of life, advertise the private enterprise system, laud U.S. foreign policy, help them to find work,

* *African Students in the United States*, Committee on Education Interchange Policy, New York, 1960, p. 15.

etc. But this organisation, too, has been unable to improve the living conditions of students from the economically less developed countries.

To somewhat improve the system of training qualified personnel for Asian, African and Latin American countries, several special educational centres have been set up in the United States. As a rule they function at American universities under agreement with the U.S. Government. One of them, the East-West Centre at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, is for students from the countries of Asia and the Pacific. In the 1960-61 academic year it had facilities for only 125 persons, the next year there were twice as many, and in 1965 it had an enrolment of 2,000 students, including a large number of U.S. citizens who upon graduation were to be given jobs in the countries situated in that part of the globe.*

The Centre has three principal departments. The first and the largest is the International Training Agency which prepares medium-level personnel and skilled workers; the second is the International College where engineers, doctors, agronomists and other specialists are trained; the third, the Institute of Advanced Projects, conducts scientific research of mutual interest to the U.S.A. and the Asian and Pacific countries. Some of the best specialists from Japan, India, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and other countries in that part of the world, and also from the U.S.A. have been invited to work at the Institute.

The International Training Agency prepares skilled personnel in 100 fields, including agricultural, municipal, social security and transport workers, administrators, safety engineering specialists, supply agents, building workers, and sanitary inspectors. The length of the training period ranges from one week to two years. For instance, tourist guides, and specialists in the co-operative movement and in school hygiene get several weeks' training only; woodworkers, draughtsmen, welders and maintenance personnel for refrigerating plants get several months; and agronomists, livestock experts, bookkeepers and technicians—almost two years. The Agency turns out very narrow specialists whose

* *East-West Centre*, Hawaii, 1960, p. 2.

knowledge is strictly limited to the job they are being trained to do.

It is characteristic that out of the 100 courses offered to students from the economically less developed countries, 48 train administrative and executive personnel. Instruction in the professions is poor; just 20 of the skills are more or less connected with material production.*

Only persons with a higher level of general education are eligible for enrolment at the International College. The average training period is a year and nine months. Its students have come from the developing countries or are U.S. citizens. Judging from the short terms of study and the curriculum it offers, the College, like the Agency, does not give a comprehensive knowledge of the subject taught. If we take into account the vacations, and the time allotted to foreign students for travel in the U.S.A. and to American students for travel in Asia, we shall find that they actually study for only just over a year.

The Institute of Advanced Projects is, in the main, concerned with raising the qualifications of scientific workers by holding seminars and conferences to which it invites researchers, educationalists, journalists and leaders of political organisations from the less developed countries. The Institute "brings together the minds and talents of the countries of Asia and the Pacific and of the West. Scholars and leaders of distinguished intellectual and creative activity are invited to the Institute for the exchange and development of knowledge, the exploration of new ideas, and the discussion and clarification of significant cultural, social, and scientific problems and issues".**

The East-West Centre awards special scholarships, some for a period of 12 months, for this purpose and encourages research into scientific problems of "mutual interest".

The two principal objectives pursued by the Institute are: first, to gain control over the development of scientific thought in the Asian countries, to gather scientific information, and to bring their scientific institutions under U.S. influence, and, second, to create the illusion that the U.S.

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* *Information Bulletin, 1961-62,* "Centre for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West", Hawaii, pp. 17-23.

** ibid., p. 31.

is rendering practical scientific assistance to the economically less developed countries.

Moreover, the East-West Centre has special-programme groups. The greatest importance is attached to the study of the countries of Asia and the Pacific, and to the programme of Overseas Operations. The first offers a thorough knowledge of a given country, its language, history, economy, geography, sociology and state system. These groups include American citizens, most of whom receive stipends from the Pentagon. In their case, priority is given to the study of Japan, Indonesia and the Philippines. The penetration of the American military into the Centre testifies to the fact that the U.S. ruling circles are using it to further their aggressive aims.

The most significance, however, is attached to the programme of Overseas Operations in which only American citizens can participate. Upon completing the course they are given a Master's degree and are sent to work abroad, either by government organisations, or under contract with private U.S. firms. The standard of education at these special courses is much higher than at the International College, let alone the International Training Agency.

The system of education at other similar institutions training students from economically less developed countries greatly resembles the one we have just described.

Much attention is devoted to instructing young men and women from Asia, Africa and Latin America in the American way of life. A compulsory course called American Culture, which is read at colleges and universities, embraces not only the culture, mode of life and traditions of the American people but is also intended to instil anti-communist feelings into foreign students. They hear lectures that distort the policy of the socialist countries and praise to the skies U.S. foreign policy and its "aid" to the developing countries.

In addition to these special courses at educational institutions, there are numerous organisations that acquaint students with Western civilisation and life in the U.S.A. A good example of how these organisations work is afforded by the American Field Service (AFS) which is very active among the young men and women of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The AFS operates in more than 50 countries. Annually it arranges 12-month student exchanges between the U.S.A. and other countries. Foreign students usually live in American families during their stay in the U.S.A., and American students live in the families of citizens of the countries which they are visiting. For this purpose, the AFS chooses suitable homes where a student could live as one of the family during the entire period of training.

More often than not foreign students are placed in families which are connected with U.S. firms situated in their home countries, and American students are accommodated by families belonging to the local wealthy strata closely linked with U.S. capital. The AFS scholarships are usually awarded to students whose parents are wealthy enough to lay down a definite sum of money to cover travel and other expenses incurred by a student during his stay abroad.

Candidates for study in the U.S.A. are selected by local branches of the AFS. In some countries these branches are occupied with a broader range of problems, including the promotion of propaganda undertakings. The activity of the organisation grows from year to year. *La Republica* in Costa Rica wrote that with the help of scholarships the AFS intends to foster friendship and mutual understanding between all the peoples of the world. Its purpose, the newspaper said, is to convey to students of all nationalities a better understanding of the ambitions, customs and life in the U.S.A., while U.S. citizens should, on their part, become acquainted with, and study the life of the other peoples of the globe.*

Under the guise of this noble activity the AFS, along with ideologically brainwashing young men and women, studies and picks out people who are to become the bulwark of U.S. organisations in the developing countries. Attention is focused on the wealthy sections of society because from their number it is easiest to recruit people who will faithfully defend U.S. interests.

When U.S. imperialist ideologists speak of friendship and mutual understanding, they have in mind the establishment of strong ties with the ruling upper crust of the less developed countries. But what talk can there be of friendship

* *La Republica*, February 24, 1962.

between peoples when not a single person from the ordinary people is awarded a scholarship.

Alongside the activities of organisations such as the AFS, similar work is carried on among the students from Asia, Africa and Latin America by individual U.S. institutions, firms, colleges and universities. Stanford University plays a particular role. Each year it awards scholarships to top students from other countries. The gifted young foreigners are invited to the U.S.A. in order to "promote the interchange of ideas and political convictions between students of all nationalities". Scholarships are granted exclusively to persons who are making good progress in their studies and who have had the experience of public work among the students. Moreover, they are awarded only to students taking a course in humanities (sociology, economics, the arts, literature, international relations, pedagogics and so forth).

At the University they attend a special course of lectures on various problems dealing with capitalist ideology and policy, U.S. aid to the less developed countries, its foreign policy, and methods of anti-communist propaganda. During the studies and in their free time, the students become closely acquainted with the American way of life.

Local pro-U.S. societies select those who are to come to study in the U.S.A. from among the top students who feel loyal to the United States.

After graduating they return home where, with the help of American propaganda agencies, they lecture at local educational institutions, write articles for newspapers and talk on the radio eulogising the American way of life, justifying U.S. foreign policy of aggression and slandering the socialist countries.

There are certain far-reaching goals as well. Some of the graduates are given posts in political parties, in the ideological departments of colleges and universities, and in government institutions.

Once installed in high posts, they are used by the U.S. Department of State to promote the interests of American imperialism. Many national student and other youth organisations, especially in Latin American countries, are headed by people who have had this political schooling, including training at Stanford University. Their reactionary pro-U.S. policy does much harm to the interests of the people.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST AFRICA

The development of the national liberation movement has seriously undermined colonialist positions on the African continent. But the imperialists refuse to acknowledge defeat, and, by means of provocations and conspiracies, are endeavouring to impede the progressive movement of the African peoples. One of their most hideous crimes was the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese national hero, and his comrades-in-arms. The conspiracy against the Congo was carried into effect by international imperialism with the participation of Belgian, American, British and French colonialists.

In addition to overt acts aimed at overthrowing the national governments elected by the people, the imperialists are resorting to other methods in their fight against the national liberation movement of the African peoples. They set up and support puppet governments, and conclude treaties which enable them to keep the countries under indirect political control and to retain their economic domination.

Imperialist circles of the West, primarily in the U.S.A., are striving to enmesh the African countries in a web of economic and military aid agreements. For example, the "mutual defence treaties" with the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Niger, and the agreements with Cameroon and the Malagasy Republic actually give France the right to interfere in their internal affairs and enforce a policy that benefits the colonialists.

These last few years have seen a broad economic and ideological offensive by the United States against Africa. A component part of the ideological drive is the ten-year emergency programme of American Educational Aid in Africa. The programme pursues three main goals: first, to establish control over the upbringing of the young generation and to intensify the propaganda of bourgeois ideology among the youth; second, to form an élite from the national intelligentsia that would guide the African countries along the capitalist way of development; and third, to turn the process of Africanisation to the benefit of the U.S.A. by installing trusted Africans in responsible posts in the political, economic, military and other fields.

This sinister programme is actually a veiled conspiracy

against the anti-colonial national liberation movement of the African countries. Today, in line with this programme, there is a large number of U.S. teachers—Peace Corps volunteers and student teams of the Crossroads Africa organisation—working in these countries; many young Africans are being educated in the U.S.A., and American religious missions are displaying increased activity.

At first glance the work of all these organisations appears harmless. But a closer study of the activities of these American "enlighteners" reveals a comprehensive expansionist system that has a single co-ordinating and guiding centre.

The true aims and purposes of U.S. policy in Africa were formulated as far back as 1960 by the Division of International Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Oliver J. Caldwell, Assistant Commissioner for International Education, and Director, Division of International Education, justifying the need for implementing this programme, pointed out that it would make a guarantee against any unpleasant shocks that Africa might have in store for America. This programme was to be used as a shield for protecting the interests of U.S. monopolies and turned into an instrument against the national liberation movement in the African countries.

"Our only feasible means of dealing with the African," he said, "is to go into partnership with him. As partners, we will help him to realise his human and his material potentialities. We will exchange our technical skill for a share of his mineral and other resources."*

How does Caldwell visualise this partnership in practice?

It is proposed to unite the African countries into a special organisation, the Afro-American Educational Commission that will include the U.S.A. and any African country that accepts its charter. Its practical activities will be directed by a permanent Afro-American Council where seats will be divided equally between the African countries and the U.S.A. The council chairman, however, must be an American. The sponsors see the Council as a body that will study the situation in the African countries, make recommendations to the governments on educational and scientific matters, finance the construction of educational institutions, grant loans, etc.

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* *Phi Delta Kappan*, Bloomington, U.S.A., January 1960, p. 144.

Under the Ten-Year Emergency Programme of American Educational Aid in Africa, the U.S.A. will annually place 2,000 scholarships at the disposal of the Commission for distribution among African students. In that same period, not less than 500 American teachers will be sent each year to work in the African countries. Moreover, it is planned to set up two special centres for publishing literature and textbooks in the European and African languages. The U.S.A. has also promised to grant special purpose loans provided the receiving countries will use them "properly".

It is clear from the above that the Commission, when established, will be fully controlled by the U.S.A. whose representatives will have the last word on every issue and will guide its work to suit their own interests. By the end of the ten-year period, the U.S. expects to have a 20,000 strong corps of African intellectuals trained in the pro-U.S. spirit. American ruling circles believe, and not without reason, that under African conditions the emerging intelligentsia should play a very important role. It will mould the destiny and world outlook of the rising generation and steer the development of science and engineering. Therefore, everything is being done to make it a carrier of bourgeois ideology. In accordance with the programme, there will be an army of 5,000 American educationalists in the African countries who will exert a constant ideological influence on the national intelligentsia.

To ensure the success of the programme, Caldwell recommends more flexibility and resourcefulness. He says that aid should be rendered where it best suits American interests and that American ideas should be transplanted in African soil with great care and skill.*

In spite of widespread publicity, the United States has not been able to carry out the programme as fully as suggested by Caldwell, but its basic principles are, nevertheless, being realised. Though it has failed to unite the African countries within the framework of a single organisation, this did not prevent it from considerably increasing the number of scholarships for Africans, sending a large number of teachers, instructors and advisers to Africa, financing the training of

* *Phi Delta Kappan*, January 1960, p. 145.

clergymen for missionary work and flooding the African schools with American literature.

The Caldwell Plan is plain political sabotage on the part of the U.S.A. against the newly free African countries. The fact that officially it does not figure anywhere and is being carried out covertly, does not make it less dangerous.

The development of education in the African countries is encountering a number of serious difficulties. The Addis Ababa Conference on African Education, held in May 1961, pointed out that the chief obstacle was the lack of funds. It worked out a programme of educational development in the countries of Tropical Africa from 1961 to 1970 whose fulfilment would require foreign assistance to the sum of $2,500 million.*

The U.S.A. is making the best of this circumstance and is vigorously "assisting" the African countries.

A group of U.S. Senators investigated the situation in Africa and reported to Congress on January 1962, that the most acceptable form of aiding the African states was to send American teachers there.** The Department of State made an analogous recommendation.

This stand of the U.S. ruling circles is explained by their desire to exercise direct influence on the training of specialists. Since 1960, the U.S. has been regularly sending teachers to the African countries. In 1961, there were already about 100 instructors at the higher educational institutions and more than 400 teachers at the secondary and primary schools, and their numbers grew rapidly. In 1962, more than 300 Peace Corps volunteers and 150 instructors from the Columbia Teachers' College went to East Africa. In 1963, the flow of American citizens into the African countries was still greater.

By that time the Peace Corps alone had 1,500 teachers working in Africa.*** Their total number was well over 2,000.

In some countries, particularly in Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria, key positions in education are being taken over by U.S. citizens.

The U.S.A. does its work of training personnel and devel-

* *Overseas Education*, London, July 1962, p. 77.

** *Study Mission to Africa, Sept.-Oct. 1961*, Report of Senators Albert Core, Philip A. Hart and Maurine B. Neuberger, 87 Congress 8 Session, January 14, 1962, Washington, p. 9.

*** *The New York Times Magazine*, June 16, 1963, p. 8.

oping education in Africa through government organisations, private capitalist foundations and public and religious bodies.

All told there are more than 300 American organisations and institutions working in this field. But the lion's share of the "aid" is furnished by five or six organisations that control 90 per cent of all the funds allocated for this purpose. The U.S. Government renders aid through the Department of State, the International Co-operation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, the Peace Corps, the Washington Export-Import Bank, the United States Information Service, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labour, the National Science Foundation and the National Military College.

Aid is also furnished in conformity with Public Law 703—Atoms for Peace Programme, and Public Law 480—the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act.

The most active are the Department of State, the International Co-operation Administration, the Peace Corps and the United States Information Service.

The Department of State first became interested in furnishing aid in 1949, and in 1960 it was already granting it to 28 African countries south of the Sahara. Special agreements were concluded with the colonial authorities to prevent them from putting up obstacles in the way of this aid. The Department of State concerned itself primarily with subsidising the education of Africans in American colleges and universities, sending American experts to Africa, and sponsoring mass cultural undertakings, sports meets, seminars and symposiums there. From 1949 to 1960 it granted scholarships for overseas training to 678 Africans.* Of them 229 were social functionaries, politicians and statesmen, 113—specialists in various fields, and 260—students. Sixty per cent of the scholarships were awarded to persons holding responsible posts in their countries. During the same period 142 Americans were sent to the African countries to work in scientific centres, educational and state institutions.**

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* *International Educational, Cultural and Related Activities for African Countries South of the Sahara,* Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, Washington, 1961, p. 3.

** ibid.

In 1961 the Department of State considerably stepped up its activity in this field. In that year alone, about 50 American experts were sent to Africa and 281 persons were invited to the United States to study. One other fact that cannot be overlooked is that almost 70 per cent of the scholarships were awarded to high-ranking Africans.*

By sending vocal and dance groups, jazz orchestras, and sports and other delegations to the African countries, the Department of State seeks to advertise the American way of life and to win popularity for the U.S.A. These groups usually arrive in time for national holidays or other notable political events, and it is considered very important that they should perform at educational institutions.

American diplomats were also sent on special trips to the African countries for on-the-spot investigation of conditions in their educational institutions.

As can be seen from the above, the Department of State has not given broad scope to its activity in the field of education and the training of specialists in the African countries. Still, this activity is of no little significance considering that its purpose is to organise work with people who are holding, or will eventually hold, important political and governmental posts. They are the people on whom the ruling circles of the United States will rely in safeguarding their interests in Africa.

The International Co-operation Administration conducted its work in Africa on a broader scale. It furnished "aid" from the funds allotted under Public Law 665 adopted at the 83 Congress as an amendment to the 1954 Mutual Security Act. Prior to 1960 the Administration was granting economic "aid" only, but in the summer of that year it worked out a special programme to assist the African countries south of the Sahara in developing their system of education. Accordingly, aid is being rendered to African universities, secondary schools, teachers' colleges and courses, medical staff training centres, agricultural schools, schools for training administrative and executive workers, committees sponsoring various seminars, and so forth. The Administration virtually controls the entire system of education and the training of qualified

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* ibid., p. 4.

personnel in Africa. Included in its programme are the Haile Selassie I University in Ethiopia, the reorganisation of school education in Liberia, and assistance in developing teachers' training colleges in Somalia.

The Administration not only awards subsidies, but is primarily engaged in sending American teachers to work in African schools and colleges. Under the agreements concluded with the African countries, their new schools and colleges, during the initial period, will be staffed entirely by American teachers.

A special programme envisages the participation of U.S. educational institutions in this activity: the Administration draws up a trilateral contract between a school or college in the U.S.A. which will furnish the teachers, the African organisation which will be granted assistance, and the Administration itself, as the agency that will finance the undertaking.

Intense activity in the field of education is displayed by the United States Information Service which has a close network of branches and a large number of experienced workers in the African countries. The USIS does not directly allocate funds or send teachers to local schools, but its workers arrange lectures and reports in the premises of the Agency itself and elsewhere.

The USIS operates in many African countries where it has its information centres. These centres have about 100,000 books in English, and 27,000 in French and Arabic, they subscribe to a vast number of newspapers and magazines, and show hundreds of films. Their activity in the field of education has been centred around the adult population, state employees, students, and pupils of the upper classes of secondary schools, for whom they organise lectures on special and political topics.

In the Congo and some other countries the USIS makes wide use of the broadcasting system for this purpose; special courses were started in Ethiopia, which in 1961 were attended by 250 students; in Southern Rhodesia the USIS opened a special reading hall at a college of Salisbury University, and turned over 4,500 books to ten missionary schools. In a number of countries it publishes its own newspapers, including *American Outlook* in Ghana and *Perspectives Americaines* in the Congo, and everywhere it is broadly utilising portable

motion picture projectors and libraries to further its ends. An estimated 35 per cent of the permanent readers at American libraries are, as a rule, pupils and students. The USIS does not restrict its activities to lectures and propaganda only, but as a rule takes a hand in picking out the students to be sent to study at American colleges and universities on scholarships awarded by U.S. Government or private organisations.

The activity of this ubiquitous organisation arouses the justifiable alarm of the developing countries. The Government of the Republic of Guinea closed down the U.S. Library and English language courses in Conakry that had been functioning for a year, because their activity was detrimental to the interests of the country.

In 1964, the Zanzibar Government followed suit, and in February 1965 the Indonesian Government closed down all USIS branches in the country.

A special place among the government organisations is held by the Peace Corps. Unlike the Department of State, the International Co-operation Administration, or the United States Information Service for whom the selection and training of personnel for the developing countries is only a side line, the Peace Corps is wholly committed to this work. We shall describe the activity of this organisation in the section entitled The President's Missionaries.

An investigation into the activity of government organisations in "aiding" the development of education and the training of personnel will lead to the following conclusions:

first, it is closely bound up with foreign policy issues and is an ideological and propagandistic instrument of U.S. diplomacy;

second, this so-called aid is given to authoritative people and organisations that can directly influence the political and economic life of the African countries;

third, the usual way in which practical questions are solved is not by rendering financial "assistance", but by sending a steadily increasing number of American teachers, instructors, experts and other persons to Africa, and by providing opportunities for the most "promising" African young men and women to study in the U.S.A.

Private capitalist foundations, in contrast to government organisations, pursue a long-range policy—to create conditions

leading to more tangible pro-U.S. changes in the African countries.

One such organisation is the Ford Foundation, mentioned earlier in the booklet. It commenced activities in Africa in 1958, and today carries on work in eleven countries. The principal trend is to finance individual programmes of training American personnel for work in the African countries, to subsidise private and government organisations in Africa engaged in promoting the development of education, and to pay for the education of Africans at U.S. colleges and universities.

From 1951 to 1961, the Ford Foundation spent $15 million on education in Africa.* Out of this sum $8 million went to assist U.S. citizens, i.e., to finance various programmes initiated in the U.S.A. to train experts for work in Africa, and approximately $7 million was spent on educating Africans either in their home countries, or in the U.S.A.

The Foundation distributed funds in conformity with the existing agreements for assisting the African countries to train government employees on the scene, to promote the study of the humanities and research in this field, and to provide housing for American teachers and experts coming to work in Africa.

The largest grant was given to Nigeria where it was utilised to pay U.S. experts working at the school preparing state employees for the Western Region, at the Institute of Administration in Zaria, and to subsidise the university college in Ibadan; the cost of writing the history of Africa, and the organisation of lectures by radio was also covered out of this grant.

In Ghana, the expenditures of the Ford Foundation were connected with children's institutions and commercial education; in Rhodesia it paid salaries to American experts teaching political subjects, and purchased books for libraries; in the Congo it subsidised the Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, the Congo Institute of Technology and the Ecole Nationale de Droit et d'Administration.

But financial assistance to develop technical education was rendered from time to time only.

* *International Educational, Cultural and Related Activities for African Countries South of the Sahara,* Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, Washington, 1961, p. 35.

The activity of the Rockefeller Foundation differs little from that of the Ford Foundation. It embraces the same countries and is, in the main, similarly orientated.

Today the Rockefeller Foundation operates in Ghana, Uganda, Ethiopia, Southern Rhodesia, Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, the Congo and the Republic of South Africa.

Its first connection with Africa dates back to 1925, when a study of yellow fever was launched. Up to 1953 it financed research into individual problems. But later, especially in 1960-61, it developed large-scale activity in the field of education and the training of specialists.

An extra $80,000 were allocated to cover the cost of training personnel for African state institutions in American colleges and universities.

The largest sums were allocated for agricultural development. The Foundation granted $500,000 to promote veterinary service and to train livestock experts in the countries of East Africa; $300,000 to enlarge the agricultural college in Morogoro in Tanganyika; and $800,000 to raise agricultural crop yields in Northern Nigeria. A considerable part of these grants were utilised to pay American experts who carried these programmes through.

The Carnegie Corporation, a large U.S. monopoly association, has been operating in Africa for several decades. Until recently its connections with the African countries were episodic and purely symbolic, but in the past few years it has increased its allocations, bringing the total sum to $6,640,777.*

Only half of this sum, however, went directly to the African countries, the other half was spent in the U.S.A. and other countries to subsidise seminars on Africa, travel expenses and so forth. The work of the Corporation embraces, in the main, all the countries listed above.

Today, the Corporation is mainly concerned with financing and arranging conferences and seminars on educational development in Africa and with selecting American experts for work in the African countries. Of late it has actively joined in the work of revising curriculums and educational programmes, compiling textbooks and devising teaching aids.

* ibid., p. 31.

In addition to the above private monopolist organisations, aid in educational development is furnished by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Twentieth Century Fund, the Ruth Sloan Associates and other private bodies.

Apart from the Institute of International Education, an important role in "assisting" the African countries is played by certain other organisations, including the African-American Institute and the African-American Students Foundation. These organisations are controlled by the U.S. monopolies and execute their will in the African countries.

The African-American Institute was established in 1953. It awards scholarships to African students for study at American colleges and universities, conducts work among them, helps to select teachers for work in African educational institutions, disseminates information about Africa in the U.S.A., aids Africans who come to the U.S.A. for short terms of study, and establishes contacts with U.S. organisations that show an interest in Africa.

It is perfectly clear from the above that the Institute's role is mainly that of a cultural and political centre whose activity embraces African students in the U.S.A. and persons arriving from Africa for short visits.

U.S. ruling circles hope that the Institute's activity will lead to mutual understanding between the visiting Africans and the U.S. population and thus offset racial discrimination and other unpleasant factors that negatively affect the mood of the Africans. It is also called upon to localise the incidents that occur without letting them develop into issues of inter-state relations.

The Institute does a considerable share of the work involved in selecting American teachers for the African countries, and selecting African young men and women to study in the U.S.A.

The African-American Students Foundation is a mixed organisation engaged in selecting and sending students to the U.S.A. from the countries of East Africa. Since 1956 most of the students were from Kenya. It is subsidised by the U.S. Government, the Joseph Kennedy Foundation and several other organisations.

Religious organisations are assigned a prominent role in the imperialist plans of the U.S.A. Today there are more than 7,000 American missionaries from almost 200 organisations working in the African countries south of the Sahara.* Some of these organisations have a long-standing connection with Africa, but the majority began their activity on that continent a relatively short time ago.

*U.S. Missionaries in African Countries** in 1960*

Country	Number of missionaries	Country	Number of missionaries
Angola	132	Northern Rhodesia	134
Basutoland . .	49	Nyasaland . .	64
Congo (Leopoldville) . . .	1,291	Republic of South Africa	446
Cameroon . .	244	Sierra Leone .	212
Ethiopia . . .	308	Somalia . . .	28
Ghana	195	Southern Rhodesia	286
Guinea, Senegal	441	Swaziland . .	51
Kenya	308	Tanganyika .	403
Liberia . . .	291	Uganda	91
Madagascar . .	121	Other countries	549
Mozambique .	61		
Nigeria . . .	1,263	*Total* . . .	6,968

In some of the countries the number of missionaries is rapidly growing.

Apart from their purely religious activity, U.S. missionaries are devoting a great deal of attention to education. They maintain a fairly large number of schools where the children are brought up in the fear of God and in slavish submissiveness to the white people. The schools in the hands of the missionaries have become a weapon for ideologically indoctrinating the local population.

Trade unions, women's, youth and other public organisations in the U.S.A. also carry much weight in the training of students from the African countries.

The bosses of some U.S. trade unions are working hard to make African trade unions tractable and through them to spread their influence over the continent's growing working

* *International Educational, Cultural and Related Activities for African Countries South of the Sahara,* Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, Washington, 1961, p. 15.

** ibid., p. 14.

class. In some African countries trade union funds are used to pay leaders of individual trade unions, to build trade union premises, and to cover the cost of maintaining U.S. advisers that are rendering organisational and technical "assistance".

By the beginning of 1964, there were already 300 African trade union leaders who had completed a course of training at the African Labour College in Kampala (Uganda) at the expense of the U.S.A. Brief visits of African trade union leaders to the U.S.A. for seminars, instruction tours, etc., and trips of American trade unionists to Africa, are being widely practised.

Since 1957 a large number of African trade union leaders and officials of labour ministries have been coming for a year's training in the U.S.A. American influence is very strong over the African Labour College in Kampala which prepares trade union workers for the African countries.

U.S. trade unions have drawn other countries into the orbit of their activity in Africa. Israel, for example, has developed large-scale work on that continent. A special institute has been founded in Tel Aviv to train executive personnel for trade unions, co-operatives, and government agencies for the development of African and Asian countries. There is every reason to call the Institute an international centre of imperialist penetration into Africa. The U.S.A. and Britain have direct bearing on its activity; Israel has provided the premises, but its current expenses are covered by trade unions in the U.S.A., Britain and other countries. Study courses last three and a half months only. The reason for such short programmes, according to the Institute's administration, is that only a specific contingent of people is admitted—trade union leaders and persons prominent in the co-operative movement and government agencies who cannot leave their posts for long.* Under this system, there are three groups of graduates a year. Formally the Institute is run by the General Federation of Labour in Israel, but in practice it is controlled by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and one of its lecturers is Foreign Minister Golda Meir herself.

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* *The American Federationist*, Washington, November 1963, Vol. 70, p. 15.

The task of the Institute is ideologically to indoctrinate African and Asian trade union and co-operative movement leaders.

Lately, the young African states have begun to devote more and more attention to the education of women. In this connection various women's organisations have heightened their activity. Naturally, the U.S.A. had to display an interest in this field, too. American women's organisations contacted their counterparts in Africa and offered to "assist" them in preparing leaders for the women's movement. For this purpose leaders of women's organisations in Nigeria, Kenya, Tanganyika, Liberia, Ghana, Togo and several other countries were invited to the U.S.A.

Still greater activity in training youth leaders for the African countries is displayed by youth organisations in the United States.

They have elaborated a series of programmes for educating African youth leaders. Taking part in this work are the International Christian Youth Exchange, the American Field Service and other organisations. One of these programmes is operation Crossroads Africa inaugurated in 1959. Its purpose, according to its leaders, is to achieve rapprochement between the local population and U.S. citizens through joint participation in the construction of schools, churches, libraries, in fighting epidemics and so forth. Crossroads Africa is being carried out exclusively by U.S. students and teachers. Each year a certain number of American students, usually in teams of ten, go to the African countries where they draw the local youth, mainly students and pupils, into their activity and with their assistance carry through the planned undertakings.

Lately, U.S. ruling circles have increased their interest for Crossroads Africa. Its board now includes a permanent representative of the U.S. Government in the person of Chester Bowles, and is receiving larger subsidies. The programme is closely linked with U.S. monopolies operating in Africa, for example, the Liberia Mining Company.

The scope of activity of Crossroads Africa can be judged from the following data: in 1958, 60 students and 12 experienced organisers were sent to five West African countries; in 1960, 200 students visited ten countries and drew into their activities 200 local young men and women; in 1961, a

still bigger group of U.S. students worked in 15 African countries; since 1962 Crossroads Africa has been annually sending teams of about 300 persons to 19 African countries. The activity of these student groups is aimed at blunting the vigilance of the African peoples and is intended to serve as a screen for the neocolonialist intrigues of U.S. imperialists. By adopting such measures, U.S. ruling circles hope to win recognition for what they call the civilising mission of the U.S.A. in the African countries.

In this connection the magazine *News Bulletin* writes: "... these smaller projects have an influence upon both Africans and Americans which far exceed their actual size. They are permanent reminders of American unselfish interests and good will towards Africa...."*

The work of student teams is not limited to propaganda alone. Experienced U.S. organisers visiting the African countries set up contacts with local youth and student organisations with an eye to use them eventually in the interests of the U.S.A.

We have already mentioned that a large number of American organisations are working in the field of education and the training of qualified personnel for the African countries. To co-ordinate their work and make this "aid" more effective, a special centre—the Council of Educational Co-operation with Africa—was established in June 1961.

The Council is composed of representatives from the African-American Institute, the African-American Students Foundation, the African Scholarship Programme of American Universities, the Institute of International Education, the Phelps-Stokes Foundation and the United African College Foundation.

The idea is that the Council will become a centre for promoting and strengthening co-operation with the African countries and will gradually grow into a joint Afro-American organisation which will play a leading role in the training of specialists on the African continent.

For the time being, however, the Council is working on fairly "modest" problems. Putting it briefly, they are: to make a study of the needs of the African countries in training skilled personnel and to define the size of U.S. aid to

* *News Bulletin*, Institute of International Education, March 1961, p. 11.

be furnished in this connection; to achieve co-ordination in the work of various U.S. organisations; to devise more effective "aid" programmes, and to conduct qualified selections of African students for studying in American colleges and universities.

Qualified selection means gathering information about the admitted candidates and screening them. For this purpose the Council is planning to set up a network of branches in African countries.

In addition to its co-ordinating activities, it will also carry through several programmes of its own. In 1961, for example, the Council had already conducted one such programme of "aid" to Africans studying in the U.S.A., using funds allocated for this purpose by the Department of State. The question was also raised of entrusting the Council to co-ordinate the activities of all the interested capitalist countries in the sphere of education in Africa. It was suggested that at first the Council should establish contact with the erstwhile colonial powers which are still enjoying considerable influence in their former colonies, and to initiate activities in Africa in accordance with a jointly devised plan. Apparently, the idea of setting up the Council pursues far-reaching goals. It is planned to establish a representative organisation on its basis to include the United States and other capitalist powers as well as young African countries. This makes it more dangerous than the plan proposed by Caldwell.

LESSON OF THE CONGO

U.S. policy in the Congo vividly demonstrates the manner in which the so-called harmless American aid is made into a weapon of graft, deceit and aggression, and how it is used to artificially create conditions under which monstrous crimes against the African peoples become possible.

The 1964 Congo tragedy caused by the armed attack of Belgium and the U.S.A. against Stanleyville and which took the lives of thousands of innocent Congolese citizens, was a logical consequence of the imperialist policy pursued by the U.S. ruling circles in many developing countries.

A special place in this policy has been assigned to plans connected with "aid" in training national specialists.

Long before its armed intervention in the Congo, the U.S.A. began to build up a base of its own there—an American version of the fascist fifth column. The U.S. ruling circles set themselves the task of Americanising the Congolese Government apparatus, the army, the police and the social and political organisations by training and promoting to high posts bribed Congolese, and by planting U.S. advisers in all the organisations and institutions. They needed such a base which they could employ at any moment to promote the interests of American imperialism.

Before we discuss the methods used to create the American fifth column in the Congo, we must, even if briefly, investigate the reasons that had motivated U.S. monopoly capital to expend large sums on various "aid" programmes. A look into the recent activities of U.S. monopolies in Africa will easily supply the answer.

U.S. capital has been operating in Africa for a long time now. But the process of penetration really gained momentum during the Second World War and particularly in the postwar years, and soon won strong positions in the economy of many African countries.

Attracted by the continent's vast natural wealth, U.S. capitalists are investing more and more heavily into its economy. The countries of Central and South Africa are rich in diamonds, gold, platinum, uranium, copper and other minerals. West Africa has large bauxite, iron ore and manganese deposits. In the north, there is oil and other riches.

The value of the average annual output of mineral raw materials in Africa for the past several years has been estimated at $2,500 million. U.S. capital investments have already exceeded $2,000 million. Large U.S. monopoly associations are continuing to intensify their drive on the African continent, the House of Morgan being especially aggressive. In South Africa it has several companies which control part of the gold and copper mines; through its Newmont Mining Corporation and the St. Joseph Lead Co., it controls about 50 per cent of the shares of the zinc and lead mines in Morocco, and through its Middle African Corporation it has penetrated even into French Equatorial Africa. The United States Steel Corporation, also a Morgan enterprise, has taken possession of some extremely rich

sources of raw materials for the iron and steel industry. It controls 49 per cent of shares of the Compagnie Miniere de l'Ogooué S.A. which mines manganese in French Equatorial Africa. Moreover, the Morgan group owns several mines in Nigeria, Liberia, Tanganyika and elsewhere.

The Rockefellers, who are keeping pace with the Morgans in Africa, have focused their attention on the Sahara where rich oil deposits have been discovered in the past few years. Three Rockefeller companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, and Socony Vacuum—are hastening to gain possession of the oil wealth of the Sahara. The Rockefellers have also invested capital in Guinea, Angola and in some other African countries.

The powerful Melon empire is also establishing its dominance in Africa, especially over the continent's oil and aluminium industry.

In Guinea the Melons control the extraction of bauxites, in Nigeria and Ghana they are planning to build aluminium plants, and they have set up their own oil companies in Libya, Tunisia and Mozambique.

Other large U.S. monopolies are also active in Africa. In 1962, there were 221 American companies there, including the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Chrysler Corporation, the First National City Bank of New York, the Ford Motor Co., General Electric, and General Motors.

U.S. capitalists are particularly interested in the Congo. After the Second World War the Morgans, Rockefellers, the First National City Bank of New York, Guggenheim, Hochschild, Payne-Whitney, Cleveland, California and other monopoly associations have been engaged in a desperate struggle for possession of the rich raw material sources and capital investment spheres. These groups consolidated their positions in the Congo in 1960, having squeezed out their much weaker Belgian rivals. The Belgians, frightened by the growing national liberation movement of the Congolese, were willing to establish contact with U.S. monopolies as a safety measure against possible unpleasant developments.

The *Herald Tribune*, in its July 10, 1959 issue, wrote: "Until recently Americans interested in investing or doing business in the territories of West Africa have found doors only half-open.... The picture has changed greatly in the last few years. The erstwhile colonial powers themselves seem eager

to get Americans in—up to a point. For the former it's a kind of insurance: get the Americans in and you'll have a strong potential ally in case the new young governments get rough and rash with foreign interests in the future."* The Société Générale de Belgique, one of the largest financial groups in Belgium which controls 70 per cent of the Congo's economy, established ties with many U.S. magnates—Morgan, Rockefeller, Reynolds, Lehman and other financial bigwigs—and together with them continues to exploit the national wealth of the Congolese people. They founded many joint-stock companies, including the ESSO Central Africa, set up jointly with the Rockefeller group, the Aluminium and Electric International and the Aluminium Europe—with the Reynolds group, the Belgian-American Banking Corporation—with the Lehman group, and the American Eurafrican Development Corporation—with the Dillon-Whitney group.

Today U.S. monopolies are participating in the extraction of diamonds, copper, uranium, cobalt, gold and other minerals. They ship to the U.S.A. 90 per cent of the uranium mined in the Congo, all the cobalt and niobium, a rare metallic element, and large quantities of lead, copper and other valuable raw materials. It is estimated that 52 per cent of the U.S. gold reserves kept in Fort Knox come from Africa. American capital has won firm positions in the electric industry, banking, trade, agriculture and other branches of economy.

The facts cited above show that the Congo was turned into a private domain of U.S. monopoly capital. But the events that took place after 1960 tended to foil the plans of the U.S. monopolies. The struggle of the Congolese people for independence threatened to deprive the foreign monopolies of their high profits. In the circumstances the U.S. imperialists decided to take steps to smash the national liberation movement and to turn the Congo into an unofficial U.S. colony and a strategic barrier that would stem the tide of national liberation revolutions rolling from the north of the continent to the south.

With this end in view, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. are trying to build up forces in the Congo that would help them

* *Herald Tribune*, July 10, 1959. Quoted by Jack Woddis in *Africa. The Lion Awakes*, p. 225.

change the situation in the country in their favour. These forces were to consist of reactionary pro-imperialist elements formerly employed by the Belgians, and the new élite, which the Americans promptly began to cultivate.

The U.S. fifth column was composed not only of Congolese, it also included Belgians and a large number of Americans who arrived in the Congo in the guise of advisers, experts, instructors, teachers and employees. In 1960, the U.S.A. considerably stepped up the formation of pro-U.S. forces in the Congo. The Americans resorted to their favourite methods: they furnished "aid", especially in training specialists, and dispatched American personnel to work in the country. As other African countries, the Congo received this "aid" from three principal sources—state institutions, private firms and religious organisations. The Department of State is especially active. Since 1960 its Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs has been sending American specialists to the Congo, most of them ideological workers and people for work at the local government institutions: the ministries of foreign affairs, information, justice, education and the radio, the press and other important organisations.

At the same time many Congolese, mainly persons who held prominent posts in the country, or their relatives, were sent each year to the U.S.A. for training or practice. The International Co-operation Administration, whose work in this field was directed by the Department of State, displayed much broader activity. It awarded scholarships to Congolese students for study in the United States, selected candidates for training at the National School of Law and Administration in Leopoldville at U.S. expense, and opened English language courses. In 1960, 300 carefully picked Congolese were sent by the Administration to the U.S.A. where they were trained for work on the radio, in administrative organs, foreign trade organisations and educational institutions.

In addition several English language courses were organised for the students of local privileged educational institutions, state employees and candidates selected for training in the U.S.A.

Another government organisation, the United States Information Service, is playing a big part in the ideological indoctrination of the local population. In the main, it operates through its information centre in Leopoldville. There it has

an extensive library whose collection of books in French and English, including many textbooks, attracts large numbers of Congolese pupils and students. The centre regularly arranges lectures on political topics both at its own premises and at local educational institutions. Frequently the lecturers are professional propagandists invited for the purpose from the U.S.A. There are also regular showings of films. The USIS puts out a French language newspaper, *Perspectives Americaines,* and jointly with the International Co-operation Administration runs the English language courses.

In addition to the three government agencies mentioned above, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Science Foundation and the Board of the Atoms for Peace Programme are taking part in this work. These six organisations are maintaining steady control over the training and placing of personnel in key political, economic and cultural sectors. Their activity in this sphere is geared to promote U.S. foreign policy.

U.S. private capitalist organisations are also successfully operating in the Congo. In 1962 there were eight of them: the African-American Institute, the Belgian-American Education Foundation, the Belgian-American Friendship Society, the Centre for International Education, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Christian Youth Exchange and the Mobile International Oil Co. All these organisations exerted a strong influence over the selection, training and placement of local personnel.

For example, the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations have assumed full control over the Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, the Congo's largest university, as well as over the Centre for Research and Socio-Political Information which on their initiative has opened courses for training Congolese leaders, i.e., persons who subsequently will be assigned to high posts in state and educational institutions, political parties and other important establishments.

The activity of U.S. religious organisations in the Congo deserves special attention. At present more than 2,000 American missionaries from 39 organisations are working there. All told there are 7,000 foreign missionaries in the country. They control approximately 10,000 primary schools, most of the incomplete secondary and secondary schools, as well as domestic science, vocational, teachers' and other schools.

Virtually, the entire school education in the country is in the hands of religious missions.

To satisfy the urge of the Congolese for technical education, the U.S. National Council of Churches of Christ proposed in 1960 to establish a technological institute in the Congo. According to published information, it will have several colleges and schools in various regions of the country. Among others, there is to be a medical college, schools graduating administrative personnel, agricultural specialists, engineers, economists and also a preparatory school for young men and women who wish to enter higher educational institutions.

It is certainly curious that, in accordance with the project, the institute's departments will be scattered all over the territory of the Congo. This will, of course, create great difficulties for the students and make the training of specialists a costlier undertaking. And, apart from everything else, the Institute can hardly be expected to function normally under these conditions. Apparently, the project has nothing to do with the desire of the holy fathers to help the Congolese youth to get an education. The U.S.A. wants to set up a network of ideological and operational bases throughout the country and it is only natural that it should use church organisations as a very convenient screen. Through them the Americans can easily penetrate into strategic regions controlled by the national liberation army.

The following example proves this point: On the eve of the U.S.-Belgian attack on Stanleyville there were more than 1,000 American and European missionaries in the city itself and in its outskirts. These people were engaged in espionage and in spreading hostile propaganda. The attitude towards them on the part of the Congolese was used by the Americans and the Belgians as the chief pretext for their aggression.

The entire bourgeois press trumpeted that the lives of the missionaries were in danger and demanded their immediate rescue. The consequences were tragic. Tshombe's cutthroats and Belgian paratroopers brought death and suffering to thousands of Stanleyville's inhabitants.

By 1963 the Americans had gained control over almost all the civil institutions that were either connected with training specialists or were engaged in cultural, propagandistic,

or educational activities. This enabled them to promote their agents to responsible posts in various ministries and administrations, to establish full control over the propaganda machine and to use it in their own interests.

At the same time the United States and Belgium, with the aid of their puppets in the Congolese Government, effected a series of measures to purge the state institutions of Patrice Lumumba's supporters or those who sympathised with his ideas. One of these men, Antoine Gizenga, was arrested in January 1962 on orders of Cyrille Adoula, then Prime Minister. After that, all state institutions in Leopoldville were purged of Lumumba and Gizenga supporters, the most active of whom were promptly placed behind bars. In this period, power in the Congo was virtually in the hands of the bloody triumvirate composed of Joseph Mobutu, Justin Bomboko and Victor Nendaka, who, with their cutthroats, made short shrift of all persons suspected of sympathising with Lumumba and Gizenga.

Similar measures were also carried through in other towns. A new territorial administrative division system was introduced to facilitate the replacement of undesirable officials in the provinces. As a result of this reform, the old administrative units were split into numerous small provinces where power was put in the hands of the old and the new flunkeys of the American and Belgian imperialists. Later, the provinces were cut up into yet smaller units. In 1965, there were as many as 187 ministers among the new provincial élite, not counting other high-ranking officials.

Using the United Nations Organisation as a screen for their actions, the U.S.A. and Belgium made quite a success of their scheme to replace the unwanted officials with persons who had sold themselves into their service for dollars and francs.

Towards the close of 1963, the situation in the Congo became extremely dangerous as a result of the "efforts" of the U.S.A. and Belgium in the field of training local specialists. In December 1963, the *Sunday Telegraph* published an interview granted to its correspondent by Alphonse Nguvulu, then Minister of Labour and Social Insurance, on the situation in the Congolese government apparatus.

Nguvulu regretfully admitted that corruption had become quite lawful in the Congo. Everything could be bought, many

persons received money in stacks. He said he knew of a person who was arranging to purchase a 16-room villa near Rome. Others were given Mercedeses as gifts, and still others spent their bribe money to vacation in Europe. Nguvulu added that Congolese owned houses in Brussels each worth several million francs.

In the past two or three years, in addition to preparing local specialists, the U.S.A. and Belgium sent about 4,500 experts holding various degrees and ranks to work in Congolese institutions.*

Alongside neocolonialising the state machinery, the imperialists were preparing military operations against the Congolese people. U.S. military advisers began arriving in the Congo as early as 1962 to drill Mobutu's Army and to train officers selected from among people whom the Americans considered promising and reliable. Many Germans, Belgians, Englishmen and racists from the Republic of South Africa also appeared in the role of military advisers. But overall leadership was in the hands of the United States, and foreigners acted strictly in accordance with its instructions.

In the beginning of 1964, the U.S.A. began to form, arm and train new units for the Congolese army. In Katanga alone, the Americans re-armed and trained six battalions of Mobutu's troops. Large quantities of American arms, ammunition and military equipment were sent to the Congo. Planes, tanks, armoured cars, guns and other heavy equipment were also regularly delivered. At the same time Tshombe's gendarme units were being intensively drilled in Angola and Southern Rhodesia to crush the growing unrest among the Congolese, especially in Leopoldville.

In spite of the brutalities perpetrated by the Congolese puppets, the national liberation movement steadily gained momentum and the rebel army controlled a huge territory in the north and east of the country.

The imperialists, not at all sure that under the existing regime their efforts and money would not have been expended in vain, were looking for a strong man who would scrupulously obey their orders and could in a relatively short space of time mobilise the forces to smash the national liberation movement.

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* *The Department of State Bulletin*, September 7, 1964, p. 332.

Their choice fell on Moise Tshombe whom after a series of manipulations they installed in the office of prime minister. By selecting the former president of Katanga, the imperialists were not acting haphazardly. As tribal chief who had close business ties with Belgian monopolies, he was a figure on whom the imperialists could confidently rely to carry through their plans. Moreover, he had at his disposal an established government apparatus, a gendarmerie and other personnel that had served him faithfully in Katanga.

The first thing Tshombe did on arrival in Leopoldville was to transfer the Katanga gendarmes from Angola to the city. On orders from his American masters he also promptly commenced recruiting mercenaries from the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and from some European countries. Nobody doubts the fact that the formation in the Congo of mercenary units made up of fascists and racists was the work of the U.S.A. In this connection *Newsweek* magazine frankly wrote in October 1964 that the U.S.A. was spending $300,000 every month on the upkeep of the white mercenaries in the Congo and had placed four transport planes at their disposal to speed up deployment.*

It is absolutely unquestionable that the conspiracy to crush the national liberation movement in the Congo is headed by American imperialists. Preparations for the conspiracy were launched a long time ago and involved a whole range of measures: undesirable people were removed from state institutions, new personnel was trained and ideologically indoctrinated, slanderous anti-communist propaganda was disseminated among the population, and army and gendarme units were formed and armed in the Congo itself and in other countries. Events were coming to a head. But before casting off their mask and opening hostilities against the Congolese people, the imperialists made an attempt to draw some African countries into their adventure.

The imperialists' point of view was disclosed by *The Economist.* After painting a grim picture of conditions in the Congo and accusing the African countries of inability to remedy them, the magazine proposed two plans—plan A and plan B—to normalise the situation in the country.**

* *Newsweek,* October 19, 1964, p. 32.
** *The Economist,* London, August 29, 1964, p. 796.

Plan A envisaged massive military assistance to Tshombe furnished by a number of countries, including Belgium, and directed by the U.S.A. Plan B provided for sending to the Congo international teams of military advisers, officers and military units composed of U.S. citizens and Belgians, as well as Israelis, Irish, Scandinavians, Indians and Africans. The magazine warned that if the African countries rejected plan A, the only alternative would be to carry through plan B.

Thus, on the eve of their attack, the imperialists made clear their intention to employ violence against the Congolese. They pretended that the aggression was an international move dictated by circumstances, and endeavoured to involve some African countries into this dirty enterprise.

But when the imperialists realised that the governments of the young African states would not enter into this deal with them, they carried through a new variant of the plan to "settle" the Congo issue. U.S. military contingents did not participate in this operation and the chief role was played by mercenary troops and Belgian paratroopers.

The Stanleyville operation proved to be the culmination of the military and punitive actions against the national liberation movement. Despite its elaborate planning the operation fell through. The United States and its puppets were unable to rout the rebel army which inflicted heavy losses on Tshombe's troops and the units of white mercenaries. What is more, the imperialists were dealt a heavy moral defeat. This aggression of the U.S.A. and Belgium aroused a storm of indignation everywhere, and a wave of protest demonstrations in front of the imperialist powers' embassies and meetings of solidarity with the struggling Congolese people swept across the globe.

Finding itself in this unenviable position, the U.S.A. made some futile attempts to prove that it had no hand in the matter. It became universally known that in addition to weapons the U.S.A. had sent a large number of American officers to Tshombe's army to act in the capacity of advisers and instructors. These men had commanded the punitive operations and were just as guilty as the mercenaries of the crimes against the people of the Congo. At that time the world press was filled with reports describing the atrocities of the imperialists in the Congo. *Newsweek,* for example,

published a boastful and cynical interview given to its correspondent by Harry Wilson, a British officer: "We went around them," he said, "and less than 100 yards away a witchdoctor came screaming out of the bush waving palm fronds and followed by about 60 rebels chanting the rebel war song. We killed 30 in a few minutes."*

Just as incriminating is the fact that the U.S.A. used Cuban counter-revolutionaries to pilot American planes that savagely bombed the peaceful population of the Congo and the neighbouring states. The air raids in the Congo cannot be considered otherwise than direct participation of the U.S. Air Force in the aggression against the Congolese people.

The following facts can also be adduced as proof of direct U.S. participation in the aggression. At the time of the attack on Stanleyville there were, approximately, 7,000 American civilian and military personnel in the Congo. Some were working in army and police staffs, others in state institutions, on the editorial staffs of newspapers and magazines, and in the offices of various firms and religious missions, and still others were employed at official U.S. agencies. This huge personnel was committed to ensure the successful outcome of the operation to rout the Congo's national liberation army and to throttle the struggle of the Congolese for independence.

But the U.S. ruling circles laboured in vain to camouflage their interference in the Congo.

The extraordinary session of the foreign ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, held in New York in the latter half of December 1964, accused the United States and Belgium of aggression against the Congo and demanded that the U.N. Security Council should censure their intervention.

The African representatives at the U.N. knocked the bottom out of the U.S. claim that it had nothing to do with the Congo events. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, later attempted to whitewash the U.S.A. alleging that it was only fulfilling what he termed the humane mission of saving the white population of Stanleyville.

But his clumsy explanation was immediately refuted by the inexorable facts cited by foreign ministers of Kenya,

* *Newsweek*, October 12, 1964, p. 32.

the United Arab Republic, Uganda, Burundi and other African countries.

At first Stevenson employed cunning and manoeuvres and then resorted to threats. He had every reason to be discomposed: in addition to being the head of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, he was the chairman of Templesman and Son,* a well-known firm specialising in diamond mining in the Congo.

But neither threats nor artifice helped. And how could they, if the Americans themselves were frankly speaking of broadening the scope of the U.S. intervention in the Congo.

Columnist Cyrus Sulzberger in a feature in *New York Times* proposed turning the Congo into a second South Vietnam.

So this is what the American imperialists want. Their so-called humane mission is nothing but a pretext for provoking a predatory war.

Such, in brief, is the evolution of the "humane" activity of the U.S.A. in the Congo. From "harmless" assistance in 1960 it developed into open military aggression in 1964. This is a logical development of the U.S. policy of "aid" to the young states.

THE PRESIDENT'S MISSIONARIES

A role of no little importance in effectuating U.S. policy in training specialists has been assigned to the Peace Corps, an organisation set up by the late President John F. Kennedy to render so-called aid to the less developed countries. At the present time its activity spreads to colleges, universities, educational and scientific centres, schools, youth and other organisations engaged in educating and bringing up the younger generation.

The U.S. Government frankly declared that one of the chief purposes of the newly formed organisation was to send qualified people to educate and work with the young men and women in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The founding of the Peace Corps opened a new page in the U.S. policy of aid and inaugurated a new phase in

* *France-Observateur*, July 9, 1964.

the ideological offensive of the U.S. imperialists against the peoples of the newly free countries. The *Ghanaian Times* exposed the activity of this organisation. "At the moment," the newspaper said, "no world thinker or peace fighter can isolate the role of the Peace Corps from the cold war aims of its organisers and financiers."*

Though greatly different in character, the aid rendered by the Peace Corps pursues the same expansionist aims as does U.S. economic aid. Whereas the latter is based on granting material and financial help on onerous terms, the Peace Corps operates as a philanthropic organisation which relies in its activity on American experts.

In a build-up for the new organisation, *The Christian Science Monitor* characterised it in the following way: "In contrast to the Marshall Plan, the Peace Corps depends greatly on American personnel, their ability, on the scene, to spur progress in the fields of education, agriculture and health."**

The establishment of yet another component in the already complex American aid machinery, gave rise to a lot of talk both in the U.S.A. and abroad. The official government statement which said a great deal about the historic mission of the U.S.A., about assisting Asian, African and Latin American countries to develop their economy, education and culture, about concern for progress, and so forth, did not explain the crux of the matter.

It was gradually disclosed by the U.S. press, and then candid statements were made by U.S. government officials.

According to *Harper's Magazine,* the Peace Corps was set up following the failure of U.S. policy in rendering economic aid to the developing countries and its formation was dictated by the necessity for a new approach to the issue.*** In this connection the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote that the less developed countries need not only money and machines, they must also be convinced of the correctness of U.S. ideas and that this can be achieved by sending U.S. personnel there.**** Reiterating this viewpoint, the *Daily News* declared that

* *Ghanaian Times,* July 23, 1963, p. 2.
** *The Christian Science Monitor,* March 2, 1961, p. 1.
*** *Harper's Magazine,* New York, September 1961, pp. 64-65.
**** *New York Herald Tribune* (Editorial), March 5, 1961.

Kennedy's men should turn the slogan "Yankee Go Home", which the Americans abroad are hearing more and more often, into the slogan "Yankee Don't Go Home". The *Saturday Review* magazine published an article by George E. Sokolsky, a prominent U.S. journalist. Headlined "Can the Peace Corps Do the Job?", it contained the following recommendation: "What we need to find is an ideal that will enrich life and make it possible for a person to look toward Washington as a Moslem does toward Mecca—as the place whence cometh peace and contentment and hope for the future".*

It becomes clear from numerous press articles and statements by U.S. officials that the Peace Corps programme is only a part of a broad U.S. imperialist offensive on the less developed countries. The Peace Corps is an instrument for spreading bourgeois ideas, propagandising the American way of life and fighting the national liberation movement through a specially trained contingent of American political missionaries. They have centred their ideological activity on the urban and rural youth, pupils, and college and university students.

The idea to found the Peace Corps was first made public during the Presidential election campaign in 1959. The late John F. Kennedy, at that time Presidential candidate, presented a general outline of the future organisation to his voters, and in 1960, as President of the United States, he sent a message to Congress proposing the establishment of the Peace Corps. The Senate passed the bill by a vote of 59 for to 32 against; in the House of Representatives the vote was 288 for and 97 against.**

Robert Sargent Shriver—businessman and the brother-in-law of the late President Kennedy—was appointed director of the Peace Corps. Its consultative council was composed of 33 prominent public and state leaders, including the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of Franklin D. Roosevelt, William Douglas, member of the Supreme Court, and Lyndon Johnson, then the Vice-President of the United States.

Shriver made several trips to Latin America, Asia and

* *Saturday Review,* New York, June 17, 1961, Vol. 44, p. 18.
** *New York Times Magazine,* December 17, 1961, p. 64.

Africa to study the situation personally and see how the shortage of specialists could be used in the interests of the U.S.A. He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that there were excellent opportunities for realising what was once successfully accomplished in the Philippines.*

The Peace Corps is an independent organisation working under the Department of State. Its activity fully conforms to the foreign policy line of the U.S.A. The administration which in 1962 had a staff of 275 in Washington directs its operations. The overseas operations of the Peace Corps are directed by special workers with diplomatic ranks.

Peace Corpsmen working on the spot form groups into which they draw several local citizens. Frequently these groups have their own transport facilities, they maintain telephone and sometimes radio communication with each other and employ special couriers. In Colombia, for example, they organised 29 posts which had a total of 62 workers and four couriers who maintained liaison between them and supplied the needed information. There is one Colombian in each group.**

The wide-spread publicity given this organisation and the unemployment in the U.S.A. greatly facilitated the task of recruiting volunteers for the Peace Corps.

By April 1961, 17,300 persons had handed in their applications, but only a small number were taken on. The requirements an applicant has to meet are very stiff. Priority is given to college and university students since the organisation's legal activities are centred on work among the youth. In the first place a candidate must possess the necessary technical knowledge and ability to teach. He must also be in fine shape to be able to work in difficult climatic and at times material conditions. His political reliability is subject to approval by the selection board.

The type of volunteer the Peace Corps needs was described by its Director, Sargent Shriver. "We want men and women," he said, "who are fit physically, mentally and spiritually, who are ready to work with their heads, their hands and

* *U.S. News and World Report*, April 3, 1961, p. 90. (Here reference is made to the 5,000 U.S. teachers who were in the Philippines in 1910 and whose activity led to the colonialisation of the country.)

** ibid., July 24, 1961, p. 70.

their hearts, who are able to discuss the Declaration of Independence and the problems of modern democracy...."*

Alongside the whites, the Peace Corps recruits Negro people, sending most of them to work in Africa. It is considered that by drawing Negro volunteers into the organisation the U.S.A. will be in a better position to implement its plans with regard to the African countries.

The Negro population itself, however, showed little enthusiasm when the Peace Corps was established. One Negro magazine sarcastically wrote: "The world regards us with amazement: we are leading the 'Free World'. We champion 'Democracy' and for this we stage Little Rock, drive Negroes from the polls, chase black students with bloodhounds and throttle free speech. On top of this Africa arises and our FBI trains a 'Peace Corps' to guide it."**

Inasmuch as Peace Corps work demands knowledge in various fields, every volunteer, prior to his assignment to overseas work, undergoes special training which usually lasts six months. The majority are trained at military barracks. The Peace Corpsmen are also instructed at U.S. colleges, six of which took part in this work in 1961.

As a measure to acclimatise the volunteers to conditions under which they will have to work, a special centre was set up in Puerto Rico where the climate and the living conditions are more or less the same as in many Asian and African countries.

The training programme embraces a broad range of studies, including history, geography, language, and political and special disciplines. The volunteers are taught to work with the local population, using the experience of the missionaries in this field. It was even suggested that individual agreements should be concluded with religious missions abroad, but, according to press reports, the missionaries refused fearing that their association with the Peace Corps would ruin their reputation and undermine the trust of their overseas parishioners.

* *Saturday Review*, June 17, 1961, p. 19.

** *Freedom Ways*, A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement, U.S.A., Spring 1961, p. 19.

In an interview given to a *National Guardian* correspondent, a former Peace Corps volunteer disclosed that one of the principal subjects in which they were instructed was propaganda work among the population. Replying to the newsman, he said that he left the Peace Corps after a certain lesson they had, which convinced him that the organisation was a most ridiculous instrument for propagandising the American way of life.

The lesson in brief was this: the volunteers played the part of Peruvians—the group was being trained for work in that country—and a State Department representative, who was also the instructor, performed the role of a Peace Corpsman. The "Peruvians" had to ask awkward questions about discrimination against Negroes in the U.S.A., and the Peace Corpsman answered in the spirit of U.S. propaganda.

"He was so damned skilful in hiding the truth," said the disillusioned volunteer, "that I couldn't take the whole phoney business any more."*

The period of service in the Peace Corps has not been set. One year is considered the minimum, but preference is given to those who enlist for not less than three years and particularly to volunteers who are ready to work overseas longer than that.

The organisation's expenses are met out of funds allocated for "aid" under the Mutual Security Act. Its budget for 1965 exceeded $100 million. The training and the upkeep of one volunteer costs the Peace Corps $9,000 a year, which is half what the International Co-operation Administration spends on a specialist working abroad, and only slightly more than the cost of maintaining one U.S. soldier overseas ($7,245). The volunteers receive a fixed monthly salary of $75, and are entitled to paid leave. In addition, some of their expenses, including all travelling expenses, the cost of medical treatment and medicine, are covered by the Peace Corps.

Early in 1963 there were 4,500 Peace Corpsmen working in foreign countries**:

* *National Guardian*, U.S.A., May 23, 1963, p. 3.

** Based on data in *Higher Education*, February 1963, p. 11; March 1963, p. 21.

Country	Volunteers	Country	Volunteers
Afghanistan	9	Malaya	115
Bolivia	130	Morocco	82
Brazil	143	Nepal	70
British Honduras	34	Niger	20
Cameroon	40	Nigeria	323
Ceylon	38	North Borneo	62
Chile	100	Nyasaland	47
Colombia	231	Pakistan	162
Costa Rica	30	Peru	204
Cyprus	22	Philippines	685
Dominican Republic	185	Salvador	23
Equador	166	Senegal	43
Ethiopia	275	Sierra Leone	125
Ghana	115	Somalia	44
Honduras	225	Tanganyika	62
India	75	Thailand	149
Iran	43	Togo	45
Ivory Coast	59	Tunis	65
Jamaica	34	Turkey	39
Liberia	90	Venezuela	95

President Johnson personally declared that at the close of 1964 there were already 10,000 Peace Corps volunteers and that in the next four years this number would be doubled.*

The overwhelming majority of the volunteers work in schools, colleges and teachers' training courses. There are some countries where the Peace Corps virtually controls higher and secondary education. In Sierra Leone, for example, 25 per cent of the school teachers are U.S. citizens. Peace Corps volunteers are working in most of the higher educational institutions and some secondary schools in Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia, Somalia, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan and several other countries.

The leaders of the Corps are focusing their attention on education as a means of establishing control over the schools, which already today are widely used as centres for political activity among the population, for spreading lies about the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, and advertising the American way of life.

* *The Department of State Bulletin*, Washington, No. 1326, November 23, 1964, p. 735.

In Uganda and Tanganyika, some volunteers are working on road construction. In a number of African and Latin American countries they take part in geological prospecting.

Promoting its own programmes is not all that the Peace Corps does: it frequently takes part in undertakings launched by other organisations. In his message to Congress, President Kennedy underlined that Peace Corps volunteers will participate in various international programmes initiated by private U.S. organisations and government institutions.

The U.S.A. has concluded special agreements, signed by its ambassadors and the respective foreign ministers, with all the countries where Peace Corpsmen are working. Under these agreements the countries consent to employ Peace Corps volunteers in various fields of their economic and cultural activity, and to allow them to be included into the staffs of U.S. diplomatic missions accredited there. Moreover, in all the agreements without exception, the U.S.A. has reserved the right to bring in duty-free all the materials and equipment required for Peace Corps operations. The approach to the various groups of countries is strictly differentiated. In the countries that are either members of imperialist war blocs, or are economically dependent on the U.S.A. it organises the work of the Peace Corps as it sees fit. The Peace Corps leaders decide on the number of volunteers and determine what jobs and in what parts of the country they are to do. In countries pursuing an independent foreign policy, the activity of the Peace Corps is restricted to certain fields and is under the control of the local governments. For example, the agreement signed with Ghana includes a special clause stipulating that all operations of this organisation shall be regulated by the Ghanaian Government.

Similar clauses are contained in agreements concluded with several other countries as well. True, they do not always prevent the U.S.A. from interfering in their internal affairs.

The U.S.A. is striving to draw more states into the orbit of Peace Corps activity. This was the purpose of Shriver's trip to the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Indonesia in the summer of 1962. He spent nine vigorously active days in Indonesia, visiting many towns and delivering reports and lectures on the aims and purposes of the Peace Corps. Later, he travelled through

the countries of Africa and Latin America. But the peoples and the governments of Asian, African and Latin American countries more and more often reject U.S. "aid". Recently, there have been a number of youth demonstrations in several countries against the Peace Corps, disclosing the imperialist character of its activity directed at strengthening the influence of U.S. monopoly capital in the economically less developed countries. Sharply protesting against the presence of Peace Corps volunteers, Nigerian students demanded that their government expel those persons who have insulted the national dignity of the Nigerians and whose activity is detrimental to Nigeria's interests.* In February 1965, Chemonges, deputy of the Uganda National Assembly, demanded the expulsion of a newly arrived group of Peace Corps volunteers. There were also protests in Ghana, Tanganyika and elsewhere.

In July 1961 the *U.S. News and World Report* instructed its correspondents to report on the reaction to the proposed establishment of the Peace Corps. Naturally, there was nothing comforting in the replies they sent back. Reporting on the negative attitude in South-East Asia, one correspondent wrote: "Asiatics want solid industrial help, not community projects. . . ." Latin Americans expressed their attitude in the following words: "What we need is professional and technical help, not idealistic amateurs. . . ." The report from Tanganyika was more disheartening: the correspondent wrote that in the opinion of the Africans, Peace Corps volunteers are U.S. spies.**

Already the first steps taken by the Peace Corps exposed it as the fifth column of U.S. imperialism in Asian, African and Latin American countries. To begin with, the volunteers are employed not in accordance with the country's requirements but in conformity with instructions from the Department of State.

In its report on U.S. foreign aid, the Clay Commission recommended to furnish the biggest assistance to five African countries: Nigeria, Tunis, Ethiopia, Liberia and the Congo, and the positioning of Peace Corpsmen was carried out as recommended by this commission. In 1963, there were 753

* *The New York Times Magazine*, December 17, 1961, p. 11.
** *U.S. News and World Report*, July 24, 1961, p. 42.

volunteers working in four of the above-mentioned countries, excluding the Congo, and in the other eleven African countries there were only 682.

The number of Peace Corps volunteers in a particular country is determined chiefly by the extent to which the U.S.A. is interested in it. For example, there were 685 volunteers in the Philippines, where the U.S.A. has large naval and air bases.

Peace Corps workers are widely used to incite anti-communist hysteria in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In 1962, the press related a shameful incident that took place in Colombia. Briefly, it amounted to the following. Two Peace Corpsmen were working in the village of Zipacón, some 20-30 miles from Bogota. Their suspicious behaviour aroused the indignation of the local people who demanded that the Americans leave the village. The Peace Corps leaders, supported by local reactionary elements, used the incident to provoke an anti-communist campaign by accusing the Communists of conspiring against the government.*

Peace Corpsmen are also actively employed to fight the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The requirements demanded of the volunteers, their training and the organisational structure of their groups testify to the fact that the Peace Corps can at any moment be transformed into a war corps, and its workers into soldiers ready to carry out the orders of the U.S. brass.

"In our view," wrote the *Ghanaian Times*, "the title 'War Corps' would have been more appropriate for the Peace Corps, for the activity of most of the so-called volunteers is anything but peaceful."**

The U.S.A. is attaching exceptional significance to training and dispatching special military groups under the guise of civilian organisations to the less developed countries. Sometimes these groups don the mask of Peace Corps volunteers.

To fight the peoples' national liberation movement, the U.S.A. is forming military units called the U.S. Special

* *U.S. News and World Report*, December 10, 1962, pp. 72-75.
** *Ghanaian Times*, July 23, 1963, p. 2.

Forces. These forces are stationed in Hawaii, in the Panama Canal Zone, in Okinawa and in the Bavarian Alps, etc. In 1962, 63 teams of U.S. Special Forces instructors went to 15 Latin American countries to teach the local security forces anti-guerilla warfare methods. They have close ties with advisory groups on military assistance who are also concerned with problems involved in the struggle against the national liberation movement.

The U.S. Special Forces are extensively employed in the fighting against Congolese, and particularly the South Vietnamese patriots.

The *Nation* magazine emphasised that the employment of these forces in South Vietnam has proved that they have fully justified their existence.*

This conclusion will not surprise anyone, inasmuch as the dirtiest work in South Vietnam is performed by units of the U.S. Special Forces who organise acts of sabotage behind the lines of the national liberation army, assassinate prominent workers and terrorise the peaceful population.

There is a close link between the Peace Corps and the Special Forces. This is borne out by the fact that Peace Corps volunteers are sent to important strategic regions where they conduct chartographic surveys and establish themselves in places where the liberation movement is most intense.

The press sometimes informs the public that U.S. Special Forces personnel, disguised as Peace Corpsmen, were sent to one or another country to prepare an operation against the national liberation movement. In this connection a statement in the *Time* magazine is of considerable interest. "Free-world historians," the magazine writes, "may one day record that victory over Communism was won not by the conquest of space or the big bomb but by the rapid-fire rifle, armed helicopter, the knife and the strangling wire. The U.S.A., at least, is betting so heavily on that possibility that guerilla warfare training has become the nation's fastest expanding field of military activity."**

And the Peace Corps has been assigned an important role in these base plans of the imperialists.

* *Nation*, New York, July 27, 1964, pp. 30-31.
** *Time*, U.S.A., May 24, 1963, p. 26.

THE BIBLE INSTEAD OF TEXTBOOKS

The U.S.A. is extensively using religion as a means to achieve its expansionist aims.

Christian missionaries who have settled in the countries of Asia and Africa have, long ago, made education into an instrument for spreading their influence among the local population. Till this day schools in many countries are controlled by the Church. In Angola and Mozambique, for example, school education is entirely in its hands, and so are more than half the schools in Senegal, Dahomey, Togo, the Malagasy Republic, Rhodesia, Peru and Equador. A large number of schools in the southern states of India also belongs to the Church.

The chief aim, pursued by the Church in school education, is to make the local young people obedient, godfearing and servile to the colonialists. The Bible is the chief subject taught. R. C. Kamanga, a leader of the national liberation movement in Africa, said about the education in missionary schools: "The missionaries were naturally far from the thought of giving the African children a good education. The tuition in their schools consisted mainly in instilling humility and obedience into the children."*

The ideological influence exerted by the missionaries is extremely great. For instance, in the period from 1897 to 1939 Spanish missionaries had converted 50 per cent of the population of Spanish Guinea to the Catholic faith.**

In the post-war years when the colonial peoples began their triumphant march to freedom, the most reactionary elements supporting the tottering colonial regimes rallied around the religious missions operating in their countries. In India, the Catholic Church played an unseemly role in the organisation of the provocation against the communist-led Kerala State.

The activity of the Christian Church in Africa and Asia is guided from West Europe and the U.S.A. Until recently, all the highest ecclesiastical offices were held by Europeans and Americans, and it was only in the past few years that a

* R. C. Kamanga, *The Hero.* A Short Biography of Patrice Emery Lumumba, Cairo, 1962, p. 5.

** *Voice of Africa,* Accra, June 1962, p. 12.

number of local clergymen have been promoted to the highest rung of the hierarchy.

The Church is keeping close watch over the cultural and religious developments in the young states. Immediately after the Addis Ababa Conference on Education in Africa, the higher Christian clergy began preparations for a conference on the same issue. The holy fathers had every reason to fear that the concern for education in the newly free countries would seriously damage their positions in this field.

The conference was held in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia) in February 1963 and attended by 130 highest officers of the Christian Church. Of them 80 were from 28 African countries (south of the Sahara), and the rest had arrived from the U.S.A., Britain, France, the F.R.G., Italy and several other countries.* The principal issue on the agenda was the participation of the Church in developing education in Africa. The conference adopted a number of resolutions; in particular it approved the decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference and also appealed to the governments of several countries not to infringe upon the interests of the Church in the field of education. It also recommended to divide the sphere of educational activity and suggested that national governments take full control over primary education, while secondary schools and teachers training colleges should be run by the clergy. This proposal reveals that the Church is most interested in young men and women who within two or three years can be taking an active part in national economic upbuilding.

Seeing that the Christian Church is still so influential in Asian, African and Latin American countries, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. are anxious to use it to further its expansionist aims.

To enhance the role of the Church in the young states the U.S.A. is helping to train clergymen from among the local inhabitants.

In 1960, in Italy alone the U.S.A. financed the training of 2,000 clergymen for Africa.** This number was 50 per

* *The Times Educational Supplement,* London, February 1, 1963, p. 186.

** *African Students in the United States,* p. 2.

cent more than the total number of students from the African countries south of the Sahara studying in the U.S.A. For Uganda, the U.S. "philanthropists" trained about 100 priests, two engineers, two agronomists and four doctors; for Tanganyika—80 priests, 20 lawyers, four engineers and two doctors; and for the Republic of Guinea about 50 priests and 13 specialists in diverse fields. In 1961, the U.S.A. financed the training on its territory of 90 Peruvian priests,* whereas it awarded scholarships to only 24 Peruvian students for study at U.S. colleges and universities.**

These facts mirror the true attitude of U.S. imperialism to the developing countries. It is not interested in training the necessary personnel for their growing economy; all it worries about is to keep these countries within the sphere of capitalist exploitation. That is why the U.S.A. is preparing priests and propagandists of the American way of life instead of engineers and agronomists.

In addition to providing facilities for religious education of people from the economically less developed countries, the U.S.A. sends large numbers of missionaries to work there. At present there are some 400 religious missions with 34,000 missionaries, functioning in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In some countries the number of missionaries is truly enormous. In Taiwan, for instance, there are more than 1,200, of whom over 50 per cent are from U.S. religious organisations.

The U.S.A. is devoting particular attention to Latin America. Each year it sends experienced clergymen and a large number of volunteer-priests to work in schools, medical institutions and other organisations. In the past several years alone, 854 American Catholic priests*** arrived in Latin America where they established Roman Catholic parishes. In 1963, U.S. clergymen were at the head of 221 parishes in Brazil and 125 parishes in Peru. The flow of priests from the U.S.A. is steadily increasing.

According to the Archbishop of Lima, a huge contingent of U.S. clergymen is due in Latin America in the next few years. He also disclosed that thousands of American clergymen are being trained for work in the Latin American countries.*

* *The Pilot*, Boston, October 14, 1961, p. 10.
** *Open Doors 1961*, p. 28.
*** *The Pilot*, May 25, 1963, p. 18.

In some countries American clergymen are in full control of local church activity. In Panama only 25 per cent of the priests are Panamanians, the others are foreigners, mostly U.S. citizens.** It is only natural that this huge contingent of foreign clerks in holy orders should exert a powerful influence on the entire cultural and spiritual life of the country. As far as education is concerned, it is virtually under their complete control.

U.S. imperialists are endeavouring to fully enslave the people of Panama and are building more jails and churches there than schools. Official data show that from 1954 to 1960 the number of schools, instead of increasing, has decreased,*** whereas Catholic churches are growing like mushrooms.

Through the Catholic Church, the U.S.A. is strongly influencing education in Mexico. The government, in an effort to make education available to a larger number of people, has carried out an educational reform: it introduced new textbooks, established more effective control over schools and implemented several other measures. But this has encountered the frantic opposition of the clergy. In Mexico, the Church is forbidden to open its own schools. Nevertheless in 1963 it controlled over 52 teachers' training schools with an enrolment of 5,000, and 2,270 general schools,**** i.e., 50 per cent of all the teachers' training schools and about 75 per cent of the secondary schools in the country. Its activity is steered from the U.S.A. through the medium of the extremely influential élite of the Catholic clergy, many of whom are U.S. citizens.

The propaganda activity of the Christian Church in Asian, African and Latin American countries is organised and directed by the USIS which supplies the religious missions with the necessary literature, films and money. It is believed that at present U.S. sources cover 75 per cent of all expenditures connected with the maintenance of Christian missions in the developing countries. Recently a Protestant archbishop

* ibid., October 14, 1961, p. 10.
** ibid., December 16, 1961, p. 17.
*** *Statistical Yearbook*, UNO, 1958, p. 550; *International Yearbook on Education*, Geneva, 1960, p. 505.
**** *The Pilot*, June 8, 1963, p. 13.

in Tanganyika contracted a Dutch firm to build a printers for publishing religious books, sermons and textbooks. The firm will be paid in U.S. currency. It is not difficult to imagine that in a country with a practically non-existent printing and publishing industry, the Church's printers will monopolise the publication of educational literature.

Sometimes foreign religious missions are engaged in direct anti-government activity. The Sudanese Government, for example, had to take rigid measures to curb the hostile activity of foreign missionaries. In 1963, it expelled 158 persons from the country and severely restricted the activity of the remaining members of religious missions.* Similarly many U.S. and European missionaries had to leave Ceylon.

Disregarding the negative attitude of some governments to the presence of foreign missionaries, the U.S.A. is keeping up its efforts to broaden the scope of their operations in the developing countries. The reason for such interest in the affairs of the Church is explained by the fact that U.S. ruling circles consider it an important weapon in their large-scale ideological offensive.

U.S. educational institutions have worked out special lectures for the purpose of "correctly" orientating the students in a number of important questions and international issues, among them the state system of the U.S.A., American aid to the developing countries, and Soviet foreign policy. Lectures are read by State Department officials and other American specialists in socio-economic and international problems. Ideological work in the educational institutions of the newly free countries is, for the most part, conducted in the form of individual talks with students, film showings, and circulation of propaganda literature.

In the opinion of U.S. propagandists, however, these methods of indoctrination fall far short of the mark, because the lectures, reports and even talks are not held regularly and treat of strictly approved topics. The gap is filled by the Church, whose missionaries, backed by their enormous experience, are achieving much better results than professional propagandists.

The chief trend in ideological work among the young men and women in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin

* *The Pilot*, May 11, 1963, p. 2.

America is to promote capitalist ideas, extol the American way of life and spread anti-communist propaganda. The ideologists of U.S. imperialism are concocting numerous theories to justify their expansion in the developing countries and to frighten the people with the bogey of communist aggression. One such theory, which the U.S.A. is expounding with particular zeal, is what it calls the theory of mutual dependence. According to its tenets, the economically less developed countries and the U.S.A. cannot, without risk to themselves, exist if they do not maintain close ties with each other.

American ideologists assert that the less developed countries cannot develop their economy, agriculture, science, education and culture themselves and are, therefore, in need of American aid. In its turn the U.S.A. is also interested in closely co-operating with these countries for the purpose of uniting efforts to defend the "free world and democracy from communist aggression".

Professor Clifford P. Hooker of University of Minnesota, elaborating on the conception of mutual dependence, wrote that the present situation in the economically less developed countries might bring about a political catastrophe. "If catastrophe wins in Africa, Asia, or Latin America," he declared, "it will engulf the rest of the world."* From this he draws the conclusion that the U.S.A. must find the right forms of control over the political processes in the newly free states and thus avert the impending catastrophe. In relations with these countries he demands the leading role for the U.S.A., which, he claims, history has destined it to play. In his opinion, the technical and military might of the U.S.A., as well as the new conditions that have developed in the world in the post-war years, provide sufficient grounds for calling the U.S.A. the world's leading nation. Advancing reactionary theories like the one above, the apologists of U.S. imperialism are hoping to convince the developing countries that such a state of affairs would be mutually advantageous.

In an effort to camouflage their neocolonialist activities, U.S. imperialists are juggling with words like "free world", "democracy" and so forth. What the Americans mean by

* *Phi Delta Kappan*, June 1961, p. 374.

these words was brought to light by Cheddy Jagan, former Prime Minister of British Guiana when he spoke at the National Press Club in Washington on October 24, 1961. "There are not lacking," he said, "even within this country itself, writers, thinkers, scholars, who hold that when the Government of the United States use the word 'democracy' they really mean capitalism. If these men are right, then we can expect no help, for while we are an admittedly genuine democracy, we are also admittedly socialist."*

CONCLUSION

And so, U.S. imperialists are hoping to use this "aid" as a Trojan Horse to help them penetrate into the economically less developed countries. But the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will not be deceived by the manoeuvres of the neocolonialists. In their fight to strengthen national independence, the peoples of the newly free countries are backed by the Soviet Union and other socialist states which are rendering them unselfish assistance in developing their economy and culture.

The Bhilai Metallurgical Plant in India, the giant Aswan Dam on the Nile in the United Arab Republic, and the industrial enterprises in Indonesia, Guinea, Ghana, Mali and in several other countries built in co-operation with the socialist countries, enable them to attain a new level of development and create conditions for a further growth of their economic potential. At the same time the socialist states are effectively assisting the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to train qualified personnel.

Today, thousands of young foreigners from different parts of the world are studying at educational institutions in the U.S.S.R., and a still greater number are being trained with Soviet assistance in their home countries.

What are the main features of Soviet aid in training national personnel for the developing countries?

First, this aid is not forced on other countries, but furnished at their request only.

Second, it lays a sound foundation for building up the

* Cheddy Jagan, *Socialism and Democracy*, Toronto, 1962, p. 7.

national educational establishments and creates a basis for the development of science in the receiving countries.

Third, it fully conforms to the needs of the newly free countries, inasmuch as it is aimed at developing their industry and agriculture, and raising the living standard.

Fourth, it promotes rapprochement, friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and other countries and contributes to the struggle against colonialism, for world peace.

The Soviet Union's only desire is to assist the peoples of the developing countries to build up their economy and culture. Therefore, it has no need to launch noisy propagandistic operations such as Crossroads Africa, to send dubious educationalists of the Peace Corpsmen type, or to set up ideological centres disguised as educational institutions.

In helping the newly free countries, the Soviet Union is doing a great deal to create a material and technical basis for training national specialists on the scene. With its aid, higher and secondary technical schools have been built or are now being completed in a number of countries, including India, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Cambodia and Burma. It has also equipped nine centres in the United Arab Republic for training miners, metal workers, etc. In Mali the U.S.S.R. is building a medical school for 200 students and also an agricultural school that will turn out agronomists, livestock experts and other specialists. Equipment has been shipped to Ghana for three schools—engineering, agricultural and building—which will have a student body of 600. The Soviet Union will also build a school for oil workers in Afghanistan.* No less attention is being devoted to the training of teachers for these schools.

Soviet aid not only builds a sound foundation for training personnel, in the developing countries, but at the same time creates conditions for the promotion of science there. A large number of young scientists who will eventually implement their knowledge and experience at home are being trained at Soviet educational and scientific institutions. Moreover, Soviet experts, teachers and scientists are sent abroad to assist in preparing scientific and technical personnel. The U.S.S.R. is rendering practical assistance in

* *New Africa*, August 1964, No. 8, p. 14.

organising research in physics, chemistry, astronomy, technical sciences, planning, etc.

Consequently Soviet aid organically combines a number of important spheres, such as the establishment of a material and technical basis for education, the training of educational and scientific personnel, and the organisation of scientific research. It is also closely bound with the economic plans of the newly free countries. Insofar as the chief objective is the development of industry and agriculture, most of the students are trained to work in these fields. In 1963, only 28.5 per cent of the total number of students from the developing countries studying in the U.S.A. were being trained for industry and agriculture, whereas the corresponding figure for foreign students in the U.S.S.R. was about 80 per cent.

A large number of skilled workers are trained directly at construction sites and at the plants which are being built with Soviet assistance. Soviet experts, participating in the construction of the Bhilai Metallurgical Plant, trained 5,000 technicians and qualified workers for India; by 1963, 20,000 workers and specialists received their qualifications at the building sites of various projects going up with Soviet assistance in Afghanistan. The same thing is happening at the Aswan Dam.

This helpful initiative was praised by the *Link* magazine. "... a major role," it wrote, "is played by the system of on-the-spot training introduced by Soviet specialists, under which every workshop, construction and drilling site is turned into a practical school."*

To promote friendly relations, the U.S.S.R. is exchanging students, teachers and scientific delegations with many countries. Prominent Soviet scientists have visited India, Indonesia, the U.A.R. and other countries. The U.S.S.R., in its turn, has played host to scientists from these countries. Close contacts are maintained between educational institutions in the Soviet Union and those in African, Asian and Latin American countries. Soviet scientists and experts in the developing countries are acquainting the local population with the life of Soviet people and their achievements in science, economy, education, health protection, and other fields. Similar activity is carried on by students from Asia, Africa and Latin America who are studying in the U.S.S.R.

* *Link*, New Delhi, June 23, 1963, p. 11.

The Soviet Union's sincere friendship towards these countries was manifested in the founding of the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow. Established in 1960, this unique educational institution is at present training more than 3,000 young men and women from over 80 countries, among them Ghana, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Mali and Cuba. It has six departments which prepare specialists in 15 fields, including engineering, agriculture, medicine, physics and mathematics.

The Lumumba Friendship University has been highly praised by many state and public leaders. Among those who had warm words for the University and who wished it further success were the late Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, former Prime Minister of Ceylon Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Cuban President Oswaldo Dorticos and ex-President of Brazil João Goulart.

The prominent scientist and public leader of Britain Professor John Bernal made the following entry in the University's Distinguished Visitors' Book: "It has been a great inspiration to me to visit the Lumumba Friendship University. After travelling over much of the world it is a pleasure to meet all together and working in harmony the young men and women who are going out to build a new world of peace. I wish them and the staff of the University great success and a happy future."

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America accept Soviet economic and technical aid and its assistance in training national cadres with complete trust and gratitude.

In February 1961, President of Guinea, Sékou Touré, said that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. have conclusively demonstrated their friendship with the colonial peoples, and have proved in practice their desire for sincere and full co-operation with the developing states by rendering them unselfish assistance which enables them to strengthen independence, normalise material and social conditions, promote economic development and ensure the burgeoning of their culture.

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